4
JANUARY 1988

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

DIALOGUE ON VLADIMIR VYSOTSKY

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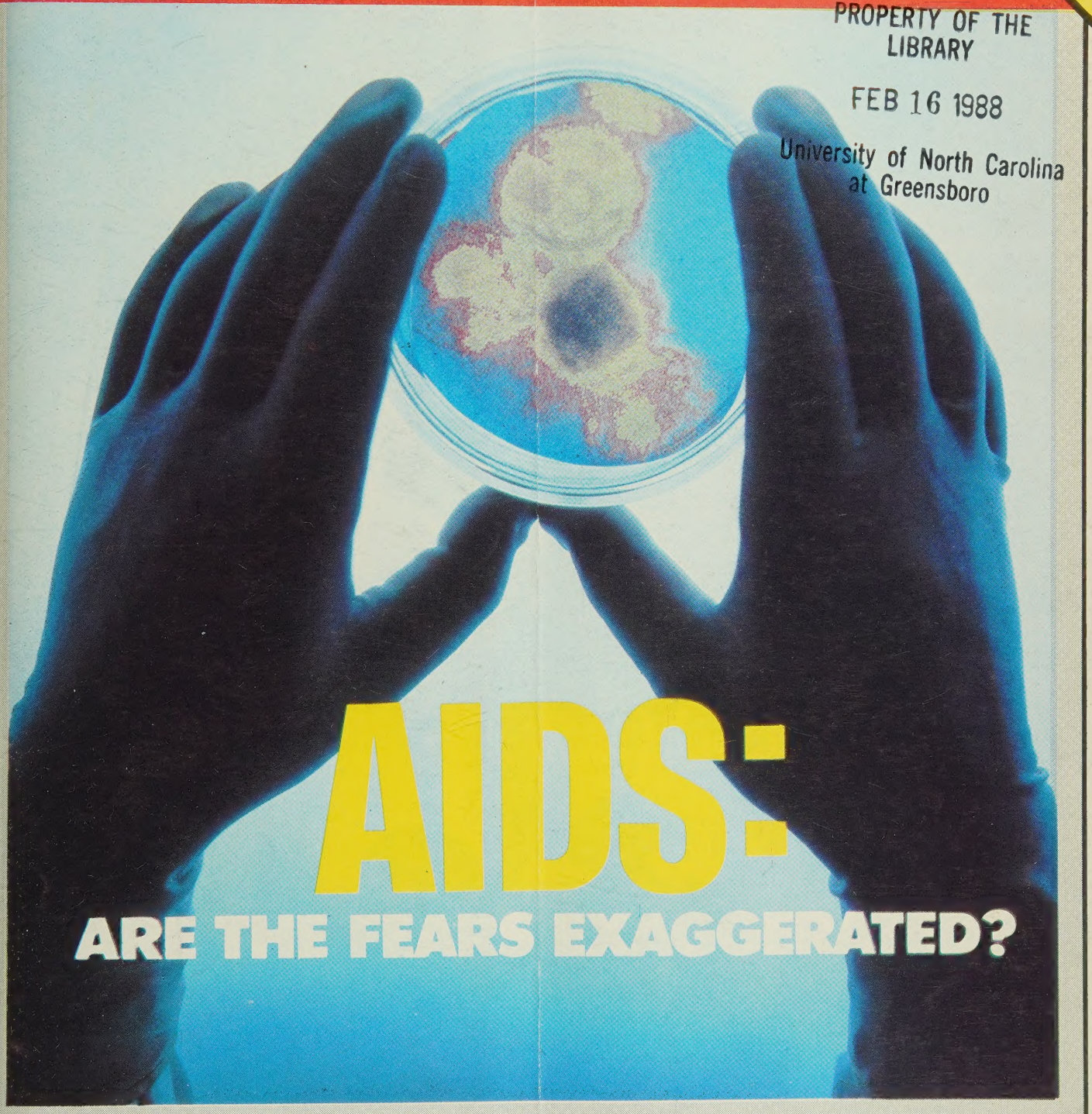

AIDS:
ARE THE FEARS EXAGGERATED?

THE EVOLUTION OF MILITARY DOCTRINES

Drawing by Vladimir Ivanov

NEW TIMES

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The International Foundation for Human Survival and Development was formed in Moscow on January 15. This independent public organization with headquarters in Moscow, Washington, Stockholm and Venice, will render support, financial and otherwise, for even the most exotic projects, provided they are of benefit to mankind.

It is only if delivered from weapons of mass destruction and equipped with common sense that politics will be ready to meet worthily any challenge of the times. The courage of politicians' convictions makes for more resolute decision making.

See pp. 6-9.

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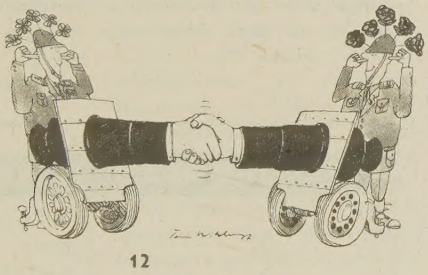

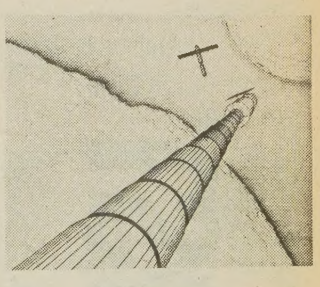

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SUGGESTION

Let them see...

I think people's awareness of danger should be heightened in these crucial times. For danger is sensed more tangibly when man sees the abyss. In the past few years, however, we have become inured to the words "nuclear war" and "nuclear annihilation." They have lost their novelty and no longer jar on the ears of either military strategists or ordinary people remote from military concerns.

A new approach, other means of propaganda and persuasion are therefore needed to avert a global disaster, the most terrible in the history of mankind.

I suggest that visual perception should be used for this purpose. The time has come to make the first realistic stereoscopic film about a thermonuclear disaster on our planet. On seeing the panoramic picture of nuclear winter and his own death, man will perhaps treble his efforts in the struggle for disarmament.

YURI CHUPAKHIN
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

GLASNOST
FROM OUR MAILBAG

DISCUSSING THE PROBLEM

A dubious offer

What is the idea behind Mr Nite's proposal to organize American-Soviet cooperatives in our country (NT No. 47/87)? He wants our authorities to allow American businessmen to set up public catering establishments of various kinds in the Soviet Union. But do we need them? I think these businessmen are simply unable to stand competition from larger companies, and are looking for new spheres. But they are not applying to other industrial capitalist countries. Besides, I am sure that the establishment of service businesses by foreigners would in the present conditions mean a revival of the New Economic Policy.

NIKOLAI KRUPIN
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

DEMAND

Give criminals their due

My wife and I have come to Sweden to see our two sons, who have only survived because they emigrated from Uruguay. At home we lost our eldest son, who was 16. He was killed ten days after the fascist coup. This happened in 1973, when he was writing a slogan on the wall calling for a popular referendum. His name was Walter Eduardo Medina Delgado. This crime must not go unpunished.

HUGO WALTER MEDINA
Göteborg, Sweden

OPINIONS

Foreign policy open to discussion

Our economists, historians and political scientists are working out the problems of socialism in a new way. However, foreign policy remains a subject on which there is little, if any, discussion. Interstate relations is a delicate matter, of course. But it's a pity that the press gives no analysis of possible alternatives in our diplomatic actions and their expected consequences.

One can judge from our press that foreign political scientists are better informed than our own. I think the time has come to acquaint Soviet and foreign readers more widely with different views on foreign policy issues.

Y. KARBOVSKY
Ternopol, U.S.S.R.

Trust one another

Recently I have often met people who have been to the Soviet Union. All of them say that the people live well and their social system is sound. Foreigners are in no danger in the Soviet Union and can walk freely in the streets, knowing they will always be helped when in difficulty. The stories of people who visited your country were so convincing that I thought we should trust each other more.

ISAO ASHIBA
Tokyo, Japan

OUR READERS' REFLECTIONS

... on natural resources

I think some subjects of interest to readers are almost entirely lacking in your magazine. What about articles on Nature and environment protection in the Soviet Union? We do hear something about environmental measures to combat air and water pollution. But what about the preservation of natural resources and rare species? How is the Siberian tiger surviving? I would like to know whether Soviet tourists can take a rucksack and a tent and camp in your equivalents of national parks, as people can do in most other countries.

F.G. SHORT
Eagle Heights, Australia

... on the 1930s

Were it not for your achievements in the 1930s, socialism would not have been built. And who then would have stopped nazism?

ETTORE ROBBIONE
Gaiola, Italy

... on the currency barrier

I have been to your country three times. The hospitality and cordiality accorded me wherever I went were amazing. The only thing that upset me was that tourists from the German Democratic Republic and other socialist countries are unable to visit swimming-pools, saunas and bowling-alleys in your

PERSONAL VIEW

Guevara is so dear to me

On reading Vladimir Mironov's article about Che Guevara, "A revolutionary by calling" (issue No. 43/87) I thought that his image, ideas and slogans are still well remembered by people the world over. I recalled one episode from my own life.

It happened in 1968 when I was travelling with a friend through Greece on the way to Yugoslavia. At that time Greece was ruled by the fascist junta. When our train stopped in Salonika, military officers went through my luggage and found a book on Che Guevara which I carried with me wherever I went, along with other "communist" literature.

My friend and I were arrested and taken off the train for carrying "subversive" literature. After a brief time in detention we were released and allowed to go to Yugoslavia. But during the several days I spent in prison I realized even more clearly how dear and close Comrade Guevara was to me.

RICHARD P. BORNSTEIN
San Francisco, U.S.A.

POLEMICS

Labour-management relations

In its issue No. 2/88 the magazine carried a letter from Evgeny Torkanovsky, who says that the manager of a socialist enterprise may not head the council of the work collective. I would take issue with my colleague and suggest another approach to the problem.

In my opinion, the division of the posts of manager and chairman of the work collective council is likely to create an artificial confrontation between administration and personnel. Moreover, in this case the administration seems to be regarded not as part of the personnel, but to be employed by it. Such a state of affairs is alien to the nature of a socialist enterprise and the principles on which it is run.

What do I have in mind? Conditions were created in the past for the degeneration of centralism into bureaucratism, administration by mere injunction. The work of an enterprise was directed by orders.

The council of the work collective can and must be an organ of Soviet government at an enterprise, thus extending the democratic base of the very principle of democratic centralism. In conjunction with the administration, it demonstrates in practice the dual nature of democratic centralism, supplementing it and combining their joint potential for the tackling of common tasks.

I think the principle of democratic centralism can be put into effect only if the council is headed by the manager. He should certainly be elected by direct and secret ballot on a competitive basis. If the manager is denied the right to head the personnel he cannot be head of the enterprise either. The election of the chairman of the work collective council (provided he is also manager) on a competitive basis is a "purgatory" which does not allow the manager to become the "herdsman" of the collective. And this would be a more democratic practice.

VICTOR TOMASHKEVICH,
D. Sc. (Econ.)
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

GLASNOST

REQUEST

Emblem

I would like to divert your attention for a moment from the important problems tackled by your magazine. My two sons are dedicated gymnasts, and they want a vest with the emblem of the U.S.S.R. gymnastics team. They would be proud of the emblem of the country which has done so much for the promotion of this beautiful sport.

FRANCIS POTHERAT
Mussy, France

hotels, because only Western currencies are accepted there. I think you should resolve this question. Or does it seem normal to you that tourists from capitalist states find themselves in a privileged position in the Soviet Union?

HOLGER REECK
Ludwigslust, G.D.R.

... on religion

As a Christian, I was very pleased to read in your magazine that the Soviet delegation at UNESCO had put forward a proposal to mark the millennium of the baptism of Rus. I'm glad that this event will now be celebrated by the entire Christian world. However, I'm afraid that all this will prove mere talk, and not a real Christian holiday.

ROMAN KATKOV
Alma Ata, U.S.S.R.

Timeservers...
Drawing by Igor Smirnov

GOING BY LENIN'S IDEAS

January 21 - the day Lenin died, the day on which we honour his memory.

The best way to honour the memory of a Communist is not to sing his glory, nor to put him up in marble, but to carry on the cause for which he gave his life, and make a success of it.

Lenin needs no glorifying.

Today, so many decades after his death, he needs to be understood.

Heed his words.

"Socialism," he said, "cannot be decreed from above. Its spirit rejects the mechanical bureaucratic approach; living, creative socialism, is the product of the masses themselves."

Those lines from Lenin's works are surely a remarkable product of creative thought, a masterpiece of social, economic and political analysis, and at the same time a model of historic foresight, a warning.

In just a few lines Lenin managed to formulate the essence of the approach to building socialism (how in tune with today!),to see the dangers of officialdom and bureaucratic methods over future decades, and to provide a picture of living socialism created by the people - in contrast with shopwindow imitation - and thereby to come out for the democratic course of socialist construction. And the words "living" and "creative" standing side by side act as a reminder that judgement as on whether socialism lives on or has halted its advance will be passed not on the basis of promises, but on what has been achieved.

That is typical of Lenin.

Each step in today's perestroika convinces us of how important it is to check constantly with Lenin, and how relevant today are Lenin's lessons that it is essential to bring together the like-minded and to unite in the interests of the cause people who differ greatly in view, character and public temperament. "More socialism - more democracy" - that slogan echoes Lenin's ideas.

Expanding democracy is a distinctive feature of many of the processes taking place in our country today. Including that most important process - the economic reform. Lenin's belief in using commodity-money relations, cost-accounting, and encouraging collective and individual labour acquires fresh force and conviction.

Greater democracy is also the main theme in perestroika in the Soviet Union's foreign policy activities.

Heed what Lenin said:

"Democracy is most clearly manifested in the fundamental question of war and peace." "An end to wars, peace among the nations, the cessation of pillaging and violence - such is our ideal..."

The Soviet Union's desire to humanize the world and make it a safer place, as well as its wish to involve the mass of the people in perestroika, to stir millions to vigorous activity, and bring to life what Lenin called "the great forces of revolution, renaissance and renovation" is not met everywhere with applause.

Lenin's words: "Heroism displayed in prolonged and persevering organizational work on a national scale is immensely more difficult than, but at the same time immensely superior to, heroism displayed in an uprising..." seem to be addressed directly to such opponents.

Leninism is the basis of the theory and policy of perestroika, the continuation of the cause of the Great October Revolution at the new historic stage of our development. The country has embarked on the course of reform guided by Lenin's teachings on how to achieve victory. Adn each step along this road brings us closer to the fundamental aims of socialism.

The 13th world chess champion Garry Kasparov has visited the offices of New Times. He spoke of what he was doing in connection with the recently established international Grandmasters Association.Under its charter, membership is open to any chess player awarded this title.

The association's plans for this year include arranging health insurance for its members. This is particularly important for polayers who are in need of urgent medical aid while playing in another country. But the main item on the association's agenda is organizing a two-year-long contest of the 24 strongest chess players for the World Cup. It will consist of six tournaments. The association plans to use the profits from the contest, as well as other revenue, to develop professional chess playing - organizing various tournaments, blitz contests, arranging for grandmasters to tour developing countries and for TV advertising of chess. Garry Kasparov, however, noted that as yet complete understanding had not been reached between the Grandmasters Association and the WCF [World Chess Federation]. Some of the important tournaments to be held under the auspices of one or other organization could coincide, which would prevent leading players from taking part in them.

Playing chess and popularizing the game among people of all ages is not all the world champion is interested in. One could, for example, cite the Computer Club he has organized in Moscow. Having signed a contract, with the help of the State Committee for Physical Culture and Sport to advertise the goods of the West German subsidiary of the American computer firm Atari, Garry Kasparov refused the payment of 105,000 dollars in commission, requesting instead that Atari send some of its goods for a children's club. It proved no simple task to make the necessary arrangements with Soviet organizations and customs. But all that is now over. 250 young members of the Computer Club are successfully learning to operate the machines under the guidance of experienced teachers.

Affiliated clubs are being opened in different parts of the country.

Photo by V. Panov

NEWS NT

PARTNERSHIP AND SECURITY

NIKOLAI RYZHKOV's visit to Norway and Sweden

Discussions in the two Scandinavian capitals centred on trade and economic relations.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Union's trade links with Norway and Sweden have declined in the eighties. One reason for this is the fall in the price of Soviet oil, but the unsatisfactory crediting of Norwegian and Swedish exports, restrictions on high technology exports from Norway and Sweden to the U.S.S.R., and the unfair tariffs imposed on Soviet goods also had an adverse effect.

Nikolai Ryzhkov said, replying to a question from New Times: Our talks and negotiations with politicians and businessmen open up prospects for the expansion of economic ties. We discussed the expansion of traditional forms of trade, increasing our export of machines, instruments and R&D, and the import of equipment (plant) and technology. A new field - the setting up of joint enterprises - could prove extremely productive.

The first such joint enterprise is the contract signed between Goskomintourist and the Swedish firms SIAB and Reso on the rebuilding and running of the Hotel Europe in Leningrad. In Stockholm, the wider participation of local firms in constructing a major plant for the production and processing of meat and milk in Tosno, near Leningrad, and an extensive use by the Soviet Union of the experience of Tetra Pak in packaging liquids and manufacturing flowlines were also discussed.

In Oslo, substantial progress was made on the setting up of joint enterprises by the Soviet Ministry of Fisheries and the Norwegian firm Protan for the processing of seaweed in the Murmansk Region and the Far East, and with Sea Farm on breeding salmon in the Soviet Pacific Maritime area. The Ministry of the Medical Industry and the Norwegian firm Norexim agreed on the joint production of veterinary vaccines under Soviet licence in Norway.

The Soviet Union put forward 20 suggestions for the joint development of the resources of the Kola Peninsula.

Nikolai Ryzhkov told the New Times correspondent: I agree with the view that Soviet deliveries of gas to Sweden could serve to promote Soviet-Swedish trade. The Soviet Union is ready to supply gas in any quantities and whenever needed. So far Letters of Intent have been exchanged, citing figures of from 400 to 1,400 million cubic metres of gas a year through the existing pipeline running through the F.R.G. and Denmark, as well as through a projected pipeline through Finland.

In Stockholm, agreements were signed on tourism, visa issuing procedures, cultural exchanges, prompt notification of nuclear accidents and the exchange of information on nuclear installations. An agreement covering the last item was also signed in Oslo, where approval was likewise given to documents on cooperation in the protection of the environment, the rescue of shipwrecked and missing persons in the Barents Sea, scientific and technical cooperation in studies of the Arctic and the North, and Norway's decision to make 500 million crowns available for crediting exports to the U.S.S.R. After 19 years of negotiations, Stockholm and Moscow have finally drawn up an agreement on the principles for the delineation of zones in the Baltic Sea. This removes an issue that weighed heavily on bilateral relations. Now both countries have a clear idea of their rights in utilizing biological marine resources and the wealth of the sea shelf within the limits of their economic zones. Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson described the agreement as a product of perestroika, and observed that it helped stabilize the situation in the Baltic.

In Oslo, the Soviet side sought just as frankly and constructively to get an agreement with the Norwegians on defining economic zones in the Barents Sea. Since the sparsely populated northern tip of Norway extends far to the east, Oslo lays claims to 155,000 square kilometres of sea that lie within the Polar regions of the U.S.S.R. The Norwegian stand on this issue has remained completely unchanged for the past 10 years. The problem is complicated by the fact that as well as fishing interests, there is also a military-strategic aspect. For, unlike neutral Sweden, Norway is a member of NATO. And since the bloc seeks military superiority in the North Atlantic, the Soviet Union has to take special care in determining the future status of a considerable section of its only northern sea outlet which does not freeze in winter.

This time, too, Norway proved inflexible, and refused to consider making the area a zone of special trust and equal partnership, and giving it a configuration that would not be detrimental to the positions of our two countries on the delineation of sea zones. Yet in such a zone it would have been possible to continue the existing cooperation of the fishermen of the two countries and, moreover, begin to prospect for and extract oil and gas on an equal footing.

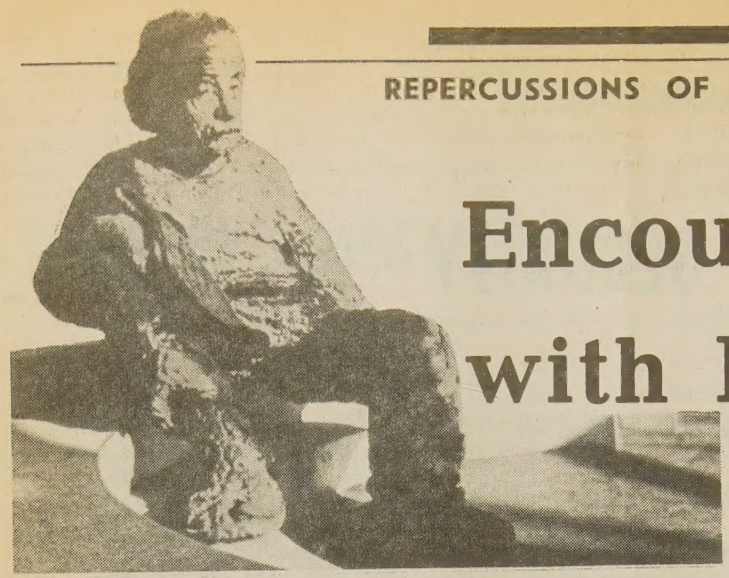
The Soviet approach does not, however, mean that this problem has been shelved indefinitely. In Oslo, Nikolai Ryzhkov specified Soviet proposals for reducing military confrontation along the North European littoral. Implementing them would provide a favourable background to resolving the most complex problems.

Bearing in mind the interests of the North European countries, the Soviet Union believes it necessary to extend the well-known Murmansk initiatives to the Sea of Norway, the North Sea, the Sea of Greenland, and the Baltic and Barents seas. The Soviet Prime Minister invited observers from the North European countries to attend Soviet naval manoeuvres, and noted his interest in reciprocal invitations. Norway's Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland made a general statement about the desirability of stable East-West relations at the lowest level of armaments.

Predictably, talks were continued on the possibility of setting up a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. The Soviet leadership invited the interparliamentary committee dealing with the question, led by the well-known Danish politician Anker Jorgensen, to visit Moscow.

Geographical proximity today makes it necessary to seek a mutually acceptable balance between the interests of the North European states, which do not always coincide, and the expansion of economic and political relations.

ALEXANDER POLYUKHOV
our own correspondent
Stockholm-Oslo



Encounter with Einstein

ALEXANDER PUMPYANSKY

On one of the busy days of the Washington summit, I happened to be in the unpretentious building of the U.S. National Academy of Sciences. Coffee, juice and fruit laid out on a table near the entrance to the conference hall made for an atmosphere that was at once homely and businesslike. The names prominently displayed on the big round table served less to assert the rank of those present as to save time on introductions. There was no particular need for them, however, as most knew each other by more than just their names.

Present on the Soviet side were academicians Evgeny Velikhov, Abel Aganbegyan, Vladimir Kudryavtsev and Roald Sagdeyev, Sergei Zalygin, a writer who is very much concerned with ecological problems, and political scientists Vitaly Zhurkin and Andrei Kokoshin from the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies.

The list of our American hosts was longer, of course. Among them were National Academy of Sciences president Frank Press, National Academy of Engineering president Robert White, nuclear physicist Walter Rosenblith, economist Laurence Klein, political scientist Marshall Shulman, and the presidents of the Carnegie Corporation, the Polaroid Corporation and Apple Computer Inc.

There were several items on the agenda: the development of Soviet economics (a review of the economic and other reforms generally known as perestroika); observation of the environment from outer space: changes in the global climate, and new data on AIDS. Reports, questions and answers. In a free talk scientists and scholars representing the two countries and various fields of knowledge exchanged views on new approaches and solutions. The invisible boundary between the guests and hosts did not disappear. It was felt in the diplomatic forms of address. Nevertheless, for the layman it was an assembly of the initiated who therefore found a common language.

Before getting down to the main subject of my report, said a Soviet participant in the meeting, I would like to convey a message from Academician Flerov. He has asked me to tell you that he has isolated 15 nuclei of the 110th element. This was said in Russian, but, judging from the reaction of the audience, I was the only person who needed an explanation.

Why was this mysterious element so precious to the audience? What had the mythical 15 nuclei to do with the cause that had brought us together in Washington? While listening to the quiet discussions of scientists with their strange abstract joys, I did not cease to think about the really burning issues of the day. These issues were discussed by politicians in the nearby enormous grey building of the State Department, called Foggy B ottom by old-timers. The repercussions of the main discussion made themselves felt in the press centre on the third underground floor of the Mariotte Hotel. This prompted a comparison of the press centre with the epicentre, because it provided news-hungry reporters with information.

A MESSAGE ACROSS THE OCEAN: 15 NUCLEI OF THE 110th ELEMENT HAVE BEEN OBTAINED

Physicists do not joke

I must confess I listened to the even flow of academic speech with half an ear - the only one of the 7,000 accredited journalists who had deviated from the beaten political track in the course of those few days.

It turned out, however, that the National Academy of Sciences was not entirely off the beaten track. Glancing at his watch, the chairman whispered something in the ear of his Soviet colleague and, trying not to disturb the speaker, quickly slipped out of the hall. I followed suit, thinking it the best chance to retire. The chairman walked straight across the lawn to the site opposite the main entrance to the Academy, where, beside the monument to Albert Einstein, there stood a large crowd of reporters with cameras and telecameras, and some even with walkie-talkies. They were awaiting a distinguished visitor. The news had leaked out that the car carrying Raisa Gorbacheva and her escort would drive along Constitution Avenue and possibly make a stop at the monument.

While waiting, I was able to examine the monument closely. Albert Einstein sits on a garden bench, with a gentle smile on his face. Plunged in thought, the scientist seems to be both here and far away. He simply does not notice the bustle at the pedestal.

Half an hour later, as if overtaking the sound wave created by it, a procession of large gleaming black cars sped along the avenue and disappeared round the bend of the road near the Lincoln Memorial. The nearest walkie-talkie was immediately switched on, and we heard an excited voice: "they are driving towards the bridge across the Potomac, apparently to Arlington Cemetery." Pausing as if to take in the news, the reporters quickly dispersed.

We returned to the conference hall. Academician Velikhov was speaking.

"Scientists, our two academies have also played their part in making the present shift possible," he said. "The dialogue between us was not broken off even in the most difficult times. In the early 1980s we understood that the banning of anti-satellite weapon tests could be our immediate goal. We talked with military and political leaders. In 1983 the Soviet government decided to refrain from further testing. Later, the U.S. Congress banned the funding of tests and resumed this ban several times.

"Soviet and American scientists,"

Velikhov went on, "raised the question of the complete halting of underground nuclear weapon tests. At government level this question reached a deadlock, despite the unilateral Soviet moratorium for 18 months. But the joint experiments of Soviet and American seismologists at Karkaralinsk and partly in Nevada showed that the problem of the verification of explosions had virtually been solved.

"In questions relating to nuclear disarmament and outer space," the Soviet academician further pointed out, "we scientists should look beyond the present agreement and disagreement, help clear the horizon and pave the way for future political decisions."

I did not wait, perhaps unwisely, for the fight against AIDS to be discussed, and went out into the street. The lawn in front of the monument was empty. I was able quietly to examine the work of sculptor Robert Berks, who created that wonderful image of a man removed from reality both mundane and extramundane, at once, kindly and weak; or perhaps of a man in touch with the earth's current, the energies of the century, that great man who was so far ahead of his time.

The legend on the pedestal reads: "The right to search for truth implies also a duty one must not conceal any part of what one has recognized to be true." The words are Albert Einstein's.

"The real truth will always pave its way." "One can work but have his work shelved." "Manuscripts do not burn." Many wonderful consolations have been devised. But they will prove true only if someone preserves the manuscripts from fire, if the shelves are not dismounted, if someone begins to inculcate the truth in our minds, devoting his life to this purpose, after which the truth will become evident to all.

I remembered what Academician Velikhov said during a spacebridge a year ago: "It is usually believed that in nuclear weapons lies strength. But nuclear weapons are not muscles, they are a cancerous tumour." The sun-tanned people at the other end of the bridge, in California, broke into applause, while I thought: "How can he say so? Why didn't he say American nuclear weapons are metastases, while Soviet weapons are different because they safeguard peace, or, a little more mildly and dialectically, that nuclear weapons are muscles, of course, but it would be better to have fewer such muscles."

How strange is the duty of man with regard to the truth he has himself discovered! Isn't he the owner of this truth? Why should the truth, once discovered, be constantly reopened and protected from concealment, oblivion, distortion and misappropriation?

Truth is often called relentless, disagreeable and obstinate.But what is it relentless against? It is relentless against obscurantism, prejudice and the unwillingness to see it. To whom is it disagreeable? It is disagreeable to a wrong and false policy. Perhaps truth is disagreeable. But non-truth is simply dangerous.

The truth disclosed by a man does not belong to him. It belongs to all of us, even if we do not yet suspect this. The moment one or other truth is opened, it enriches the treasurehouse of universal achievements. But, unlike Fort Knox, it is the duty of those concerned not to hide the truth but to make it known to everyone.

The notion of scientists as unwordly people, grown-up children who should play with their toys and keep clear of politics, has cost mankind dearly. But physicists do not joke, and the fantastic things they have told us in this century, things we have found hard to grasp, are not a joke.

ENGELS' WARNING 30 YEARS BEFORE THE SHOT IN SARAJEVO... WHAT ARE THE LESSONS OF THIS WARNING TODAY!

Physicists were not joking when, in the autumn of 1939, they persistently drew President Roosevelt's attention to the possibility of Hitler acquiring an atomic bomb (Leo Szilard and Enrico Fermi, the letter signed by Albert Einstein). Physicists were not joking when they warned President Truman against testing the atomic bomb on people (Leo Szilard, James Franck and others). Physicists were not joking when, at the beginning of 1950, they made an attempt to stop the birth of the hydrogen bomb (Hans Bethe and others).

Within a short time physicists had studied the history of the Bomb from its origins to its maturing into a global threat. They saw that the antidote itself was becoming an even more dangerous poison, and delivered a political verdict: the butterfly of the Bomb must be killed in its cocoon before it grew wings and burst the cocoon from inside.

Today we are talking about the need to combine the efforts of all nations against a new plague, even more terrible than nazism, against the atom which has spread round the world. Four decades after we drove ourselves into the dead end of nuclear confrontation, by the method of trial and error, we have arrived at the conclusions to which science came during the six years of the war. Instead of stopping in good time and avoiding the only false step forward, mankind now has to take a great many difficult steps backwards from the nuclear age in order to restore its erstwhile invulnerability. Such is the price of the failure to heed that advice.

With regard to mankind, scientists are ambassadors from a Terra Incognita, from our Earth, our rapidly changing reality, and science is a seismograph of the nuclear age.

A warning

Philosophers and social thinkers warn that policy is deaf. One of them made such a warning long ago. Frederick Engels wrote on December 15, 1887:

"...No war is any longer possible for Prussia-Germany except a world war and a world war indeed of an extent and violence hitherto undreamt of. Eight to ten millions of soldiers will massacre one another and in doing so devour the whole of Europe until they have stripped it barer than any swarm of locusts has ever done. The devastations of the Thirty Years' War compressed into three of four years, and spread over the whole continent; famine, pestilence, general demoralization of both the armies and of the mass of the people produced by acute distress; hopeless confusion of our artificial machinery in trade, industry and credit, ending in general bankruptcy; collapse of the old states and their traditional state wisdom to such an extent that crowns will roll by dozens on the pavement and there will be nobody to pick them up; absolute impossibility of foreseeing how it will all end and who will come out of the struggle as victor; only one result is absolutely certain: general exhaustion and the establishment of the conditions for the ultimate victory of the working class.

"This is the prospect when the system of mutual outbidding in armaments, taken to the final extreme, at last bears its inevitable fruits. This, my lords, princes and statesmen, is where in your wisdom you have brought old Europe. And when nothing more remains to you but to open the last great war dance - that will suit us all right. The war may perhaps push us temporarily into the background, may wrench from us many a position already conquered. But when you have unfettered forces which you will then no longer be able again to control, things may go as they will: at the end of the tragedy you will be ruined and the victory of the proletariat will either be already achieved or at any rate inevitable."

(from the preface to a pamphlet by Sigismund Borkheim, "In Memory of the German Arch-Patriots of 1806-1807").

A month later, on January 7, 1888, Engels returned to the same disquieting theme.

"Let us hope that we shall be able to avoid a war storm. Things are shaping so well and in keeping with our wishes that we shall do well without the normal course of events being disturbed by total war, moreover, a war on a hitherto unseen scale.

"On the contrary, a war would throw us several years back. Chauvinism would prevail completely, because it would be a fight for existence. Germany would put up about five million soldiers, or ten per cent of its population; other countries four to five per cent, and Russia relatively

A PHYSICIST AND A PHILOSOPHER PREDICTED THE DELUGE AND WARNED AGAINST A FIGHT ON NOAH'S ARK

fewer. Ten to fifteen million people would be in the battlefield. I would like to see how they would be fed. The ensuing havoc could be compared with the devastation caused by the Thirty Years' War. Despite the huge military forces the war would not end quickly...

"If the war were brought to an end without internal disturbances, there would be an exhaustion Europe has not experienced for 200 years. American industry would then win all along the line, confronting all of us with the alternative: either a return to farming only for OUR OWN CONSUMPTION (for any other farming would be impossible because of American grain) or a social upheaval. That is why I believe there is no intention to bring matters to the extreme and go farther than a sham war. But once the first shot is fired, the reins will fall from our hands and the horses may bolt."

(from a letter to Friedrich Adolph Sorge)

I read this brilliant prediction, these "prophetic words" (The title of Lenin's article in Pravda, July 2, 1918, inspired by the work of Engels) with mixed feelings. As regards the beginning of the war, its character, scale and political aftermath, prophecy came true exactly as Engels wrote: million-strong armies got stuck in a horrible clash, Europe was devastated, and crowns rolled on the pavements. The social outcome, too, was not very different from that predicted by Engels: revolutions broke out, and one of them even decisively intervened in the course of history.

What confused me is the fact that Engels considered possible ways of development of the postwar situation, and coolly estimated the chances of a world revolution. A brilliant example of the historic character of thinking. But classics too have their limits.

Our belief in classics can be likened to our belief in miracles. Four and a half decades after the second world war, which began as a war for lebensraum and ended in Auschwitz and Hiroshima, we would like to find whether the man who predicted the course of the first world war three decades before its first shot was fired, said anything about a third world war being inadmissible.

Engels made his prediction about the first world war at a time when smoothbore guns had just been replaced by rifled ones and muzzle-loading rifles by breech-loading rifles, when mitrailleuses had brought about a revolution in the nature and tactics of fighting. Nevertheless, we expect a man who lived in that period to have left us clear-cut writings to the effect that the weapons of the late 20th century will make any policy of war meaningless, that the nuclear weapons stockpiled in the world will crush the backbone of any strategy but the strategy of peace.

We would like to feed on the thoughts of classics forever, always finding a new, albeit old, quotation fit for an entirely new situation. Watching from London the course of the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 (almost 120 years ago) and explaining to English readers all its possible turns, as if he were invisibly present in the headquarters at once of von Moltke and Mac-Mahon, Engels could not but draw his conclusion about a time when war would result in the collapse not only of the policy which had led to it (this is exactly what he predicted), but also of any policy, moreover, of human civilization as a whole, and that therefore no class and no group of sensible people could plan, let alone calculate, postwar advantages, as there would be no such, but rather a total holocaust.

Our generation should already have drawn a similar conclusion about a war after which there would not remain even a basis for postwar construction. One should not be afraid of assuming this responsibility. It is not a courage but a duty, an imperative one can no longer evade.

It was said in the dramatic days of the Washington summit last month: "Mankind is beginning to realize that the era of wars is over." Could this have been said a century ago or even in the 1950s or 1960s? The new thinking draws its conclusions independently. Of course, it draws upon the legacy of the classics of Marxism and other great thinkers such as Einstein and Russell, Mahatma Gandhi and Leo Tolstoy. Thinking is continuous. It does not reject any humanist truth from past experience. But at turning points in history it responds to the urgent need for new and revolutionary ideas.

What is the relationship between politics and reason? This theme is as old as the world. But it too assumes a new dimension today.

The policy of the past is a vector of conflicting interests rather than a consequence of reason, and this vector pointed too often in the opposite direction from reason, elementary common sense.

Who unleashed the first world war? Gavrilo Princip, the emperor, the Kaiser, the czar, presidents, premiers, cabinets, clans or classes anxious to seize new colonies, annex new territories or usurp power? No one of them alone and all of them together. As the shot fired in remote Sarajevo echoed throughout Europe, countries plunged into battle one after another, as if they had been spoiling for it. They snatched this opportunity to settle old scores, solve their outstanding problems at the expense of others, and fight their small, "limited" wars. Mankind entered a crucial period in which all nations became interrelated. The contradictions reached a critical point and, irrespective of anyone's wishes, the uncontrolled reaction of full-scale war started, threatening to end in universal disaster.

Engels foresaw its outcome thirty years before it began in August 1914. There had been other prophecies too. Those who made them were called dreamers, utopians and pacifists. Common sense was divorced from politics. High politics was above common sense, beyond reason. As the war began, common sense was first forgotten and then jettisoned in the chauvinist and militarist hysteria. It is high time that common sense regained its legitimate place.

Reason is a cardinal virtue in any policy. Recognition of the primacy of universal over national and class interests is the most essential condition, at least as an insurance against the final catastrophe.

WHAT IS AN IDEAL THEORETICAL DETERRENCE?

We talk of science as a direct productive force. It is also high time we understood the place of science in the shaping of politics. Science is not merely a consultant but a medium for the new thinking. The brain fearlessly investigating the laws of new physical and social nature is a generator of new ideas, a beacon of future progress.

Prophetic words

Thrity-three years ago the Russell-Einstein Manifesto was published, a striking document by two thinkers, which scientists and scholars of the world have accepted as their own.

"We have to learn to think in a new way," Russell and Einstein said. "We have to learn to ask ourselves, not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer, for there no longer are such steps; the question we

have to ask ourselves is: what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all parties?

"We appeal, as human beings: remember your humanity, and forget the rest."

Responses to the manifesto were different: physicists were nervous; another utopian jeremiad, a manifestation of abstract humanism. But Russell and Einstein had discerned the threat of the Deluge and warned against a fight between the clean and the unclean in

Perpetuating the Bomb!
The Enola Gay bomber from which an atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima is now displayed in a Washington museum.

Noah's Ark. The manifesto is a prophetic document, and we increasingly realize the indisputable truth proclaimed in it.

We are still confused in obsolete postulates which the high road of thought has long passed by. Here is how a wrong conclusion is drawn from the right premise.

The nuclear weapon cannot be disinvented. This argument is perhaps the one that is heard most often in the current disputes as to whether a non-nuclear world is possible. Indeed, missiles can be scrapped and remelted and blueprints burned, but the knowledge of missiles is impossible to withdraw from the minds of scientists. All that is so, and Russell and Einstein said of it in their manifesto:

"Whatever agreements not to use H-bombs had been reached in time of peace, they would no longer be considered binding in time of war, and both sides would set to work to manufacture H-bombs as soon as war broke out, for, if one side manufactured the bombs and the other did not, the side that manufactured them would inevitably be victorious."

What follows from that?

Official Western policy says: inasmuch as the nuclear weapon cannot be disinvented, it cannot be banned or destroyed completely. The nuclear weapon is needed for deterrence.

Thirty-three years ago, Russell and Einstein said something quite different:

"Although an agreement to renounce nuclear weapons as part of a general reduction of armaments would not afford an ultimate solution, it would serve certain important purposes. First: any agreement between East and West is to the good in so far as it tends to diminish tension. Second: the abolition of thermonuclear weapons, if each side believed that the other had carried it out sincerely, would lessen the fear of a sudden attack in the style of Pearl Harbor, which at present keeps both sides in a state of nervous apprehension."

The nuclear weapon cannot be abolished completely, in the sense that the knowledge of it will remain in any case. This merely gives emphasis to the view that the nuclear weapon must be destroyed physically. The threat will disappear then, though the deterrence factor will not.

Moreover, I would add one more argument here, a selfish one, if you like. The splendid five - the present members of the nuclear club - should be most interested of all in nuclear disarmament, because only nuclear disarmament guarantees them their elite position. Otherwise, other countries will sooner or later and openly acquire the ability to produce nuclear weapons. All nations would benefit from nuclear disarmament. The other states would not be envious of the five powers, realizing that the latter have theoretical possession of the nucleus, which cannot threaten anyone.

Prohibition of nuclear weapons, backed by the open liquidation of their stockpiles, would be a universal act. It could be formalized as a universal law, adopted by the entire world community with the appropriate guarantees, and everyone would be interested in these guarantees being strictly observed. No infringer of the law of the non-nuclear age would evade close surveillance, and any attempt to manufacture nuclear weapons would be stopped decisively, without hesitation. No one in the world would refrain from taking drastic measures.

Nuclear disarmament is possible and necessary. It is not an excessive but rather an inadequate measure. That is the essence of the idea put forward by those scientists and humanists 33 years ago. Nuclear disarmament is inadequate if mankind does not abandon the illusion that war is possible. "We should, therefore, welcome such an agreement (to renounce nuclear weapons), though only as a first step," the manifesto says. The banning of war should be the second step.

Sensation! No, a programme

The Russell-Einstein manifesto is the first word of new thinking in the nuclear age. It helps to understand that the pro-nuclear statements made in different capitals are no more than a form of political crassness in the nuclear age. It is not chauvinism that impels me to welcome the programme for the phased elimination of nuclear weapons, announced in Moscow on January 15, 1986. This programme is not an attempt to forestall events. So far it is the only political proposal adequate to the new thinking, the degree of awareness by mankind of the threat hanging over it and of ways of averting this threat. It is only natural that the Delhi Declaration should have supplemented the formula of the desired objective with its call for a non--nuclear and non-violent world.

The world has as yet to realize the true significance of these policy documents. In the meantime, ignorance of these documents is likely to put some people in an embarrassing situation.

On the morning of the second day of the Washington summit, TV and radio commentators, judging from their excited voices, had discovered a sensation. It had turned out, they said, that Gorbachev did not regard the INF treaty as an end in itself. He proposed to reduce the strategic nuclear systems by half in the next five to eight years and to scrap the rest in the next five to seven years.

In the press centre, journalists assailed Soviet press spokesman Gennady Gerasimov, asking for details of the "new Gorbachev proposal." It was, however, an old proposal. On the eve of the summit, the Novosti Press Agency bureau in Washington had disseminated the digest of the Soviet statement of January 15, 1986. Two years later this statement caused a sensation, unfortunately because of a misunderstanding.

It had also caused a sensation a year ealier, when it was put forward as the Reykjavik package. At first, the President did not own to any similarity, and later he did not own to the programme itself. This is to be regretted, as the programme contains the idea of complete nuclear disarmament, realized by mankind and translated into the language of political and military realities.

The Western politicians have so far agreed to take the first step - to eliminate two classes of missile. In the Russell-Einstein Manifesto of 33 years ago, the first step was to have been complete nuclear disarmament. Scientists therefore have a much clearer vision of the world. The first step proposed by them would have opened broad vistas before humanity.

Washington-Moscow

The evolution of military doctrines

How to untangle the Gordian knot in the problem of conventional armaments? A comparison of the military doctrines of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty was proposed as the first step. But this proposal, advanced by the Warsaw Treaty states in May 1987, was unfavourably received by NATO.

Our correspondent Konstantin Isakov interviews Hero of the Soviet Union Lieutenant General (ret.) VASILY PETRENKO on this question.

New Times. Late in 1987 the West German paper Frankfurter Allgemeine carried an article by Dr Lothar Rühl, Secretary of State at the West German Ministry of Defence, entitled "The Offensive Strategy of Suppression." The author effectively launched a frontal attack on this idea of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. He says the WTO's proposal cannot be taken seriously, as it fails to mention the "operational-strategic concepts, the aims governing the use of the eastern armed forces." Herr Rühl maintains that it is above all necessary to examine "the numerical strength, armament, location, training, support and control of the armed forces," and only when this has been done to establish the degree to which the armed forces of each side are offensive or defensive.

V. Petrenko. It would be fair to say that these questions are important in determining the character of the armed forces. But this does not mean that a careful study of military doctrines can be dispensed with. It would be appropriate to mention that Herr Rühl has confused the term "military doctrine" (a system of views maintained by a state with respect to the aims and character of a potential war and preparations for it) with the terms "military strategy" and "concept of warfare," which have purely military connotations. Though to the layman this distinction may seem like hair-splitting, it is of great importance to the professional military man.

What the Warsaw Treaty is actually proposing is, one, to make a joint attempt to compare the military doctrines of both alliances and study their evolution, two, to conduct not a general discussion, but consultations to remove the mutual suspicion and distrust that have grown up over a period of many years and to achieve a better understanding of each other's intentions so that, three, the concepts of warfare and the military doctrines of both blocs be based on principles of defence. In other words, the aim is to examine the fundamental principles of military policy, and form an essentially new concept of military doctrines in the nuclear age, designed to prevent war, and not, as hitherto, to prepare for it.

During the Great Patriotic War Vasily Petrenko commanded a regiment and then a division, and in the postwar years he taught at the Frunze Military Academy. Today he is a member of the group Soviet Generals and Admirals for Peace and Disarmament.

It follows herefrom that the difference between our approach and that of Herr Rühl is one of substance and not of procedure. In this case I forebear to mention the fact that we could get bogged down for years in a profound study of the questions Dr Lothar Rühl has raised. For instance, it is a fact that the Vienna talks on a reciprocal reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have been in progress for 15 years. And now both sides are wrestling with numbers. Regrettably, no results have been achieved.

N.T. And so you propose to start with the doctrines?

V.P. In my opinion, this is indispensable. But I have heard yet another view. If Herr Rühl takes issue with us from the right, another party has criticized us from the left. When I attended the Krefeld Appeal forum at Nuremberg last autumn, I had an argument with ex-Bundeswehr General Gert Bastian. He maintains that it is quite unnecessary to discuss the aims and organization of the armed forces. He proposes to resolve all contradictions by eliminating the existing formations to the last man.

Of course, no one can deny that a world without arms would be ideal. That is what we want. But we have to be realists. If we have been marking time in Vienna for 15 years, we may well have to wait decades before all the armed forces have been abolished. But meanwhile the threat of these armed forces being used will grow. I am proposing an alternative. As I see it, first the political leaders of the countries and blocs concerned should come to terms. Then it would be necessary to dovetail the political and military-technical aspects of the military doctrines espoused by both alliances and remove from them all theses that are not compatible with the concept of defence. Reduction of all fighting services and all types of armament could be conducted parallel with this process.

I do not see how this can possibly jeopardize NATO if, as Herr Rõhl put it, the organization is a defensive one.

N.T. But Herr Rühl says that the Warsaw Treaty Organization is an aggressive bloc. In particular, he refers to writings by Soviet military theorists, Colonel V. Savkin, for instance. Citing a quotation from a work by Lenin touching on the Civil War in Russia in 1918-20, V. Savkin wrote that the main aim of a Soviet offensive was not to throw back the enemy, nor even to take over his territory, but to inflict total defeat on his forces. Having analyzed the works of other Soviet military authors, Dr Lothar Rühl drew the following conclusion:

"The military-strategic concept of the Soviet Army is a resolutely offensive one. This means that NATO will witness a pre-emptive war waged by the Warsaw Treaty member countries in Europe."

V.P. Regrettably, Herr Rühl is displaying, to put it mildly, a non-scientific approach to a most serious matter. To prove his point he quotes statements, which are either taken out of context or are simply outdated.

It is worth noting that Colonel Savkin was a student of mine. I feel I must defend him against Herr Rühl's far-reaching conclusions. It is vital to distinguish between the terms attack and offensive. These are not synonyms. The former is a political term and the latter a military one. Now, if people want to refer to Lenin, it would be appropriate to recall a few other quotations. A quarter of a century before the advent of the nuclear weapon, he warned the world that aggressive imperialist policies and the application of outstanding scientific and engineering achievements for military purposes would lead to a war that would "be an enormous crime,"..."involve a complete rupture with the latest

achievements of civilization and culture," and "might, in fact, inevitably would, undermine the very foundations of human society."

N.T. Then Dr Lothar Rühl referred to Marshal Nikolai Ogarkov's book, "History Teaches Us to Be Vigilant." The author wrote that a possible world war would be characterized by its unprecedented scope, meaning that it would spread over all continents and oceans, and by its dynamism. It would be fought till the enemy was completely vanquished. And Dr Rühl's conclusion is that this idea of the character of a possible world war leaves no room for purely defensive action in Europe.

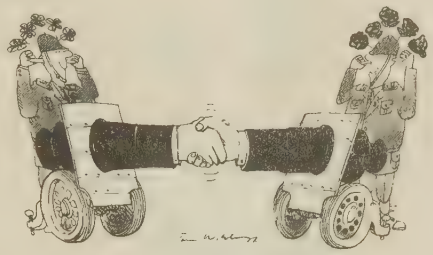
V.P. That is correct. But this is not the "fault" of Marshal Ogarkov or of Soviet military doctrine. Such is the present world situation, the essence of the class contradictions between the socio-political systems, and the states adhering to them that have formed military-political alliances, as well as the levels of their economic, scientific and technical development and armament potentials. These factors would impart a global character to a possible conflict. Regrettably, this is so. But what leads him to conclude that the Warsaw Treaty Organization is aggressive?

N.T. Herr Rühl believes there is a contradiction between the statement that Soviet military doctrine is defensive and the statement asserting the need to maintain the Soviet Armed Forces in a state of combat readiness that would guarantee their timely deployment to repel a possible enemy attack and deal powerful retaliatory strikes. He says: "The U.S.S.R. has not developed a purely defensive military structure in Europe and has not limited its armed forces to a defensive level on the frontiers of the Warsaw Treaty member countries."

V.P. This is a groundless assertion. What does the U.S.S.R. need an "offensive military structure" for? It doesn't need one at all. This is evident from the principles proclaimed in the Berlin document of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. It is possible to stop an aggressor who has invaded the territory of the U.S.S.R. or that of any other socialist country and to drive him out of the area he has occupied only by conducting active operations, some of which would be offensive, such as counterattacks and counteroffensives. This is a postulate of operational art, which does not contradict the above. It is worth noting that the military doctrine of the NATO member countries assigns to their armed forces the mission of restoring the status quo should the enemy make inroads into their territories. It would be impossible to carry out this mission with the help of passive defence.

Today the defensive structure of the Warsaw Treaty member countries guaranteeing their security is based on military-strategic parity with NATO. The level of this parity is very high. It is based not only on the defensive, but also, and predominantly, on the offensive forces, and weapons of both military alliances. It is therefore pointless at this juncture to argue about the Warsaw Treaty or NATO member countries having or lacking "purely defensive structures." The need to create such structures is quite another matter.

What the Soviet Union and the other WTO countries are proposing is to limit the armed forces of the opposing alliances to the minimum level necessary for defence. This is what the Berlin document says in clear-cut terms. It offers a set of measures which, if introduced, would enable each side to ensure its own defence, but would deprive it of the means of launching a surprise attack on the other side or of launching offensive operations.



Drawing from Berlingske Tidende
(Denmark)

N.T. You have kindly granted me an interview at the beginning of a year which could be the first in the era of practical nuclear disarmament. For forty years the nuclear weapon has been a horrible reality. Nuclear warfare forms the basis of NATO strategy. Can we say that in view of this Soviet military doctrine was also based on the use of nuclear weapons?

V.P. Regrettably, this is so. When the nuclear weapon was developed, military experts in both the West and the U.S.S.R. were of the opinion that war would inevitably be waged with the help of nuclear arms. By the early 1960s the U.S.S.R. had developed intercontinental ballistic missiles and a reliable defence system against strategic bombers. It was then that Western leaders realized that, though the U.S.A. enjoyed a superiority in nuclear weapons, Soviet retaliation would be effective enough to inflict disastrous losses. This prompted the NATO politicians to advance the idea of the "flexible response." This implied the possibility of a period of non-nuclear or limited nuclear warfare using tactical nuclear weapons alone. Should these fail to break down the adversary's resistance, then, NATO leaders believed, the West would resort to full-scale nuclear warfare.

These postulates, naturally, affected our doctrine too. In the 1970s the doctrines of both alliances contained a provision for waging war with the help of conventional weapons. Along with many other military experts at the time, I began to doubt that it would be possible to achieve anything with the help of nuclear weapons. They said that in a nuclear war the only surviving battalion of a division would have to engage in hostilities. But no one could say, with good reason, what mission it would carry out in conditions of universal chaos and wholesale radioactive contamination.

It should be mentioned that a mission formulated in time of peace acquires a wholly different content in the context of a possible nuclear conflagration. The Soviet leaders were the first to say that in a nuclear war there would be no victors. It is worth noting that military theorists did not come to realize this overnight. Some Soviet military philosophers even wrote about defending socialist gains in a nuclear war. But who will enjoy these achievements in a depopulated world?

Reality further shows that conventional warfare should be ruled out too. In his book, "Standing Guard for Socialism and Peace," Dmitry Yazov, U.S.S.R. Minister for Defence, has expounded a few ideas I would like to draw your attention to. He writes: "The combat capabilities of many modern conventional weapon systems, particularly those distinguished for their accuracy, have approached very closely the capabilities of low-yield nuclear weapons. In addition, in war, atomic electric power plants, chemical factories, nuclear ammunition and chemical weapon depots will be destroyed. Their destruction will result in the contamination and devastation of vast areas. Finally, conventional warfare may escalate into nuclear warfare at any moment. This is provided for by the so-called 'nuclear threshold' established by the U.S.A. and NATO."

N.T. All you have said is correct, but Herr Rühl says the U.S.S.R. is eager only to lull NATO's vigilance.

V.P. We have no intention of deceiving anybody. You cannot win peace with deception. We treat our partners seriously and we want them to display a serious attitude towards our proposals. The socialist countries have offered NATO a wide range of initiatives, such as talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals, freezing military spending, promoting confidence-building measures and comparing each other's military doctrines. Finally, we have proposed the simultaneous disbanding of the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the North Atlantic Alliance. If, as is evident from Dr Lothar Rühl's article, our partners harbour doubts, let us remove them through dialogue. ■

No whitewashing nazism

LEV BEZYMENSKY

By no stretch of imagination can January 30, 1933, be described as a red-letter day. Rather the reverse - a Black Day for Europe. The appointment of Adolf Hitler as Reichschancellor of Germany was the sinister turning point that marked the start of bloody events inside and outside Germany. "Hitler means war." Those words of Ernst Thaelmann proved prophetic.

What thoughts come to mind today, 55 years after that day in Berlin?

Immediately one comes up against a problem: in traditional Western historiography it is described as an "annexation of power." The nazi leaders themselves spoke of a "national revolution."

But there was no annexation of power, let alone a "revolution."

It was an ordinary transfer of power, in keeping with all the constitutional norms of bourgeois parliamentary democracy. President Paul von Hindenburg appointed the leader of one of the parties, Adolf Hitler, as Chancellor, with the head of the former Imperial Cabinet, Franz von Papen, as Vice-Chancellor.

Today it is common knowledge that those involved knew perfectly well what they were doing. They knew that Hitler's party advocated the abolition of parliamentary democracy. they knew that the nazi principle was dictatorship, and its goal, war. The generals of the Reichswehr knew this. So did the major industrialists and financiers of Germany, who on November 19, 1932, submitted a petititon to Hindenburg, requesting him to hand over power to Hitler. It is true that Eisenhower had not yet made his famous remark about the role of the military-industrial complex. But it is fully applicable to the part played by the German monopolies and generals in the events of January 30, 1933.

Much in the history of nazism can be argued over, but it remains a fact that the much-lauded **bourgeois democracy** which is presented to the world as a model **is incapable of preventing the rise to power of a bloody dictatorship** such as Hitler's. To a certain extent it even paves the way, or can pave the way for it. Under what pretext was this done in 1933?

At first it was claimed that there was little danger of that happening. This view was even shared by many of those who disliked nazism, including the author of the well-known verdict on Hitler: "No such man exists, there is only the noise he creates."

When it turned out that things were different, "the lesser evil" theory came to the fore. It acknowledged that the nazis were bad, but if the Communists, who were preparing a coup today or tomorrow, came to power, then things would be worse. And the result: if there is to be evil, let it be the "lesser" one. But that "lesser evil" planned in advance cost Europe 50 million lives!

A "misunderstanding"?

Many years have passed, but not the need to remind people **what anti-communism means and what its monstrous consequences are.** When the nazi leaders shouted about a "Red menace," they not only deceived the world. They provided respectable bourgeois politicians with a good excuse for capitulation. But what happened? In offering themselves as a "bastion against Bolshevism," the nazi dictatorship shemelessly victimized all who had hoped to avert the blow from themselves. In Germany, the nazis routed the Social Democrats and all those who happened to be not their liking, and in Europe, they enslaved a good dozen countries that were by no means communist.

Europe today looks different from what it was on January 30, 1933. Other dangers threaten it, but one danger has unmistakable links with the past - the danger of losing the sense of historical responsibility, of relegating the record of the past to oblivion. For once the war was over, at first in a whisper, and then louder and louder, one could hear voices saying: nazism wasn't all that bad, its crimes were exaggerated, it was only in his racial theory that Hitler went too far. The West German historian and sociologist Ernst Nolte, who today heads the school working for the rehabilitation of nazism, entitled his recent book "Past Misunderstandings." This attempt at whitewashing is not only being pushed through by the few nazis that remain, but is being put on a scientific basis. Attempts are being made to prove that Hitlerism was merely a legitimate "defensive reaction" to the "Bolshevist Red terror" (again, the theory of "the lesser evil"). As for all the rest, including the monstrous crimes, they were just a misunderstanding. Nothing more...

To give them their due, the public and the scientific communities in the F.R.G. and other West European countries have responded to these attempts with sharp criticism. But it is worth stopping to think: how deep do the roots of conservatism go for a Europe that suffered such losses from nazism to be offered ever-new attempts to whitewash nazism!

The world has, of course, learned a lot. It is no accident that pro-nazi and neo-nazi groups are out of favour on the political scene. Nor was it fortuitous that the fascist "experiment" in Greece proved a failure, and that the dictatorships in Spain and Portugal no longer exist.

All attempts to revive nazi and racist ideas encounter opposition from the public. But one should not lose one's acuity or plain cautiousness. On January 30, 1933, the future Buchenwald Bell tolled for the first time, calling on everyone to be vigilant. As the great poet and fighter against nazism Bertolt Brecht said, the warning should be repeated thousands of times lest one day it becomes clear that we failed to repeat it one more time.

FIRST BUT NOT LAST

Soviet bond issue in Switzerland

I never thought I'd ever meet a namesake - and a banker to boot - in Zurich of all places. Well, I did, and we spent hours in the guest room of the Soviet Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs discussing a subject that had aroused my keen interest - the Soveit bond issue in Switzerland. Within a month or so of my interview with Vladimir Goryunov, general manager of the bank's Zurich branch, this subject came in for lively discussion in the Western financial press. This is the first time the Soviet Union has issued bonds as a means of raising long-term hard-currency credits; the bonds are offered to any investor. The loan amounts to 100 million Swiss francs (77.8 million U.S. dollars), and is to be repaid in a decade. Debenture interest rate - as the income due to a bond holder is termed - is five per cent a year. On the international currency market such interest on a loan is usually offered to first-rate borrowers only.

The loan has been floated by the Bank für Kredit und Aussenhandel - the Zurich bank of which the F.R.G.'s big Westdeutsche Landesbank is a coowner; the bonds will be offered for sale by 16 more banks - Swiss, West German, Japanese, British and Italian - as well. The hard-currency receipts from the marketing of these securities will be used by the Foreign Economic Bank to budget East-West trade deals.

"What are the advantages of a loan raised on bonds?"

"An ordinary commercial loan is issued by a foreign bank or banking consortium. Besides the interest on loan capital, they have to be paid the so-called margin - a surcharge on the interest. Now when a loan is made in the form of issuing bonds, the latter are purchased by the public, by pension and investment funds, ensurance and financial companies and industrial firms. In other words, bonds expand the crediting base. Moreover, the debenture interest rate is as a rule fixed.

"The reason why Soviet securities are attractive to foreign investors is that they can sell these bonds at any time. Like all other Swiss and foreign securities, Soviet bonds will be freely bought and sold on Zurich, Geneva and Basel stock exchanges. The choice of Switzerland for the 'first try' was no accident. Local financiers make high demands on the reliability of foreign borrowers."

It would be in place to remark here that Zurich financiers regard the Bank for Foreign Economic Affaires as a most reliable and reputable business partner. They have every praise for the personnel at the Soviet Bank's local office. Swiss financiers told me that in a short space of time it had come to rank most prominently among the foreign banks there in the volume of transactions.

"I must say that securing a loan here is a prestigious, although by no means easy, matter," Vladimir Goryunov added. "We had to agree upon all sorts of terms, both banking and legal ones, with the financial authorities. Since this is a new undertaking, several problems arose. I hope our experience will prove of use in floating similar loans elsewhere."

Reporting on the first Soviet bond issue abroad, the British Financial Times hinted that the choice of Zurich instead of the City of London had been a disappointment for the City. After the recent settlement of British investors' claims in connection with tsarist Russia loans, the paper wrote, financial circles had expected Soviet bankers to offer bonds for sale on the London Eurobond market.

The Bank officials told me recently that this prospect is by no means unlikely. They have already received tempting offers from Britain, Japan and the F.R.G. Such loans now account for 70 per cent of the long-term credits raised on the international money market today.

The first Soviet bond issue in Switzerland is therefore unlikely to be the last. I was not informed as to where, when and on what terms the Bank would float the next loan. In Moscow, glasnost does not extend to commercial secrets.

FELIX GORYUNOV
our economic analyst

Zurich - Moscow

RIPOSTE

Warped judgement

You have, of course, come across umpires at football matches who turn a blind eye to violations of the rules by one team, but unhesitatingly penalize the other. Similar bias is being displayed by Claude Malhuret, French state secretary for human rights.

For instance, the popular TV programme "The Right to an Answer" is closed down with a scandal on TF-1, and its anchor man Michelé Polac is sacked. The public is indignant. Journalists are dismayed. But Malhuret's department has nothing to say.

Or another case. For the first time in the history of French justice, Judge Grellier investigating abuses of his powers by a Member of the Academy Michel Droit has the case taken away from him. Lawyers raise an outcry, but the State Secretariat maintains complete silence over the affair.

There is no space here even to list the violations of human rights that have attracted the greatest public attention under the present French administration. Let me remind you only of the millions of students who took to the streets a year ago and against whom motorised police units were used. Hundreds were wounded and Malik Oussekine was beaten to death. In a whole year investigations of the case have got almost nowhere.... Shortly before that, France was shocked to learn that a Malian citizen and immigrant workers had been deported from the country handcuffed.... Only a few months ago a worker and trade union activist Lucien Barbier, died from injuries inflicted by the police.

But once again the State Secretary whose job it is to protect the rights of people living in France did not say a word. In my opinion, his department generally dislikes social conflicts, of which there are plenty in France today.

They refuse to notice what is happening under their very nose. But they closely observe events more than three thousand kilometres from France, exposing mistakes past and present, existing and nonexistent shortcomings.

Speakikng on Radio Luxemburg a few days ago, the State Secretary again acted as the football umpire. The Soviets have started their perestroika - one point against them. The number of people leaving the country has increased - another point down. They have announced an amnesty - a penalty. And, in general, repression has started again in the Soviet Union - the captain has to leave the field, and the team scores nil for human rights.

Its senseless trying to argue with such a referee. He just can't or refuses to see. It seems that the role of umpire assumed by Malhuret doesn't suit him at all.

ALEXANDER IGNATOV

TAKING THE TIGER BY THE TAIL

From our special correspondent
SERGEI GOLYAKOV

Driving from the airport, the driver switched on the heating. It was cold. Peking had been hit by a snowstorm the day before, and the temperature had dropped sharply. A crust of ice covered the highway. The leaves of the poplars, not yet yellow, were sprinkled with snow. For China it was unusual. But the weather can spring surprises at home too. When you are in another country, you find the unusual on the ground, rather than in the skies.

Less than an hour ago, sitting in the plane, I had tried to picture the country I had not seen for so many years. What was it like today? From somewhere in my memory I was able to conjure up vague pictures of the past: the quiet calm of the hills and valleys, the placid villages, the busy towns, with pools of light under the street lamps and people huddled around them - reading the night through, knitting or darning, to save on kerosene and candles in the home. The faces of the Chinese friends I had made were blurred - I remembered them as calm, restrained, modest and given to irony. How had fate dealt with them?

And then all these images dragged out from my memory were replaced by firm ground under my feet, the attentive glance of the Chinese border guard, a red stamp in my passport, and this car with the heating turned on. Look, recognize and be surprised.

The road

The closer to the city, the more traffic on the road. How many different ages converged on this strip of concrete. Small horses lazily pulling carts piled high with bricks, sticks, straw and other items. Right under the horse's tail, between its hind legs, hangs a sack. What for? A primitive contraption - the peasant's way of saving: the manure can be used as fertilizer and the road remains clean. From what past age has this come down to our day?

Fashionable Toyotas, minibuses and station wagons overtake the horse carts. Among the lorries coming in the opposite direction, the most frequent is our postwar ZIL. An old friend.Only instead of the ZIL emblem it has several hieroglyphs. How many years has that veteran been riding China's roads? Yet it is still needed. It is still being produced here.

The clip-clop of horse's hooves and the swishing of rubber tyres, the sound of engines and the squeaking of hand-driven carts - backwardness and progress, the past and the present move side by side. I've only just arrived, and already I'm generalizing. Could it be that the symbols of China today are epitomized in this struggle between the new and the obsolete?

We entered the capital by a new wide street. The breadth of Peking's planning amazed Marco Polo. Seven centuries ago he wrote: "The streets are so wide and straight that you can see from end to end, from one set of gates to another. The whole city is divided into squares like a chessboard." An interesting observation. And yet, neither in the days of the great explorer nor many centuries later was there such a street in Peking as this one. Residential houses, fine hotels, tall administrative buildings. Not everything is finished. Those that are do not rub shoulders, between them smaller buildings have gone up - shops, restaurants and clubs. Traditional Chinese architecture stands side by side with international architecture. Monotony is alien to Peking architects.

Near the ancient observatory, there is an extensive overpass: wide, but light and delicate. From the top you can glimpse another new street being built. For the most part the houses seem to be residential - about 20 storeys high. Do Peking people like them? They say, not everyone. The younger generation is delighted but their elders often grumble: the lifts don't work properly, water supplies are irregular. And they find the courtyards too cramped - not enough room for the children to play. But these are the usual complaints, prompted largely by old habits. Because from time immemorial Peking was a one-storey city. Even in the Forbidden City the Imperial Palace, which leaves you stunned by its size is one-storeyed. Typical homes in Peking are several low grey buildings with tiled roofs enclosed by a common wall. From the street side there are separate gates to each of the dwellings. Like the English, the people of Peking prize a home of their own with its tiny courtyard or garden. My home is my castle.

Along the highway we drove at a good speed, but once we turned off into a side street we had to slow down. Instead of horse-drawn carts, the road was filled with cyclists - throngs of them, all ringing their bells. Both young and old rode the cycles. Mothers carried young children in glass-covered cages. Housewives with bags returning from their shopping, students, office workers and military men. It seems that the entire city has taken to cycling. The cyclists know that they are in the majority and they make full use of this knowledge. Red trolleybuses and blue buses thread their way through the stream of cyclists, like big fish among tiny ones. The stream of cyclists moves slowly but with dignity. The traffic is so heavy that no one stands a chance of getting ahead. At the traffic lights the stream stops. But the cyclists pay no attention to the hooting of cars and other traffic. No one even turns his head. The cyclist too is in a hurry.

At last our car succeeds in extricating itself from the cycling throng. We turn into a narrow street and arrive at our destination. The hotel, or rather the Youhao guest house is an old building. They say it was once the residence of Chang Kaishi. Now it is the property of the Chinese People's Society for Frendship with Foreign Countries. The smallish inner courtyard is decorated with rock gardens and a miniature pond. The rocks and the water create a serene mood, the impression of being close to nature.

The room I was taken to was warm and comfortable. I was advised to rest after the long journey. But I didn't want to. I was

For the first instalment see our previous issue.

eager to get out on the streets. Moreover, I had a thermos with hot water and some fragrant tea. A cup of that invigorating beverage was enough to remove all traces of tiredness.

Consumer boom

A walk through the streets of Peking was a pleasure I had long awaited. The city is vast. There was a choice between going to see the new districts or roaming through the historical centre. Plenty of tempting routes, but there seemed little sense in straying too far. I chose Wangfujing Avenue - moreover, it was near. This old shopping street is crammed with shops, department stores and stalls. Not for nothing is it said in the East, if you want to know what life is like visit the bazaar. And Wangfujing Avenue is one huge bazaar.

As usual, the moment you cross the border you begin comparing what you see with what you have at home. My first impression from shop windows was that things are no worse than at home. Plenty of goods, and prices seem moderate. There is everything you need - clothing, footwear, knitwear, cosmetics and fabrics. Good things, although not the last word in fashion.

Fruit and vegetables are sold right on the pavements. The citrus fruit had just ripened, so there were piles of tangerines everywhere. Meat, sausages, cereals and sweets are neatly packaged and sold in shops. The radio shop offers TV sets and cassette tape recorders. They look no worse than Japanese ones, but are Chinese made. Shops selling watches, sports goods, children's wear and toys. Then the antique shops that beckon collectors with their nephrite carvings, lanterns, sandalwood fans, vases, lacquered miniatures and ivory. But there are few customers, and most shoppers are to be found in the neighbouring department store.

The Wangfujing Department Store is Peking's biggest, and it reminded me of the store in Moscow next to the Bolshoi Theatre. You can buy all you need under one roof - from furniture and refrigerators to toys and spectacles. The ground floor is given over to food - tea, sweets, drinks and cigarettes.

All the goods are Chinese made. Colourful posters advertise the latest nov[illegible] a device for point massage, battery-worked pocket shavers, electronic musical instruments.

Trade is brisk. Salesgirls haven't a free moment - counting the cost, writing checks, packaging the goods. I saw a young couple pay for a set of furniture and then make their way to the washing machine. An old woman was buying two woolen blankets.

New silhouettes.

A consumer boom? Yes, and a very real one. Since the reform was introduced, wages in China have increased by 120 per cent. It's true prices are also going up. But the spending spree continues. And that is arousing serious concern among Chinese economists. There are a number of reasons for concern. But the main ones are that prices aren't regulated, and that incomes are rising faster than the output of commodities. In 1986 alone, wages went up by 20 per cent as compared with the previous year. That growth was much greater than the growth of productivity and the increase in the national income. A dangerous trend. If it continues, it could lead to a cutback in production and a slowing down in the rate of economic growth.

In the press you come across appeals to put an end to extravagant consumerism, which leaves no hope for the economic development of the country. They stress the importance of increasing the accumulation fund for economic growth rather than increasing the share of consumption in the national income. Experts see the way out in reducing production costs, in productivity growing faster than wages, and in increasing public consumption funds. This has been under discussion for

some time, but the problem still awaits a solution.

If you find that the state shop doesn't meet your needs, you can go to a private one. They are usually more in step with changing fashions and tastes. They also offer a wider choice, including imported goods - mostly from Hongkong. The private sector, although it employs only four per cent of the labour force, has managed to fill many gaps that used to exist in trade and the services industry. If your bicycle needs repairing, or you want a haircut, or a meal late in the evening, people in Peking usually turn to the privately-run services.

By mid-1987, there were 12.2 million small family businesses in the country, more than a half of them engaged in trade, and the rest running private restaurants, small workshops, dressmaking establishments, transportation and repair operations.

Although more than 70 per cent of private enterprises are in the countryside, the services sphere (transport services excluded) is concentrated in the cities.

Most of these businesses are small and family-operated. Their owners are entitled by law to employ one or two assistants, or three to five apprentices if the employer is highly skilled in his trade. This quota is often exceeded, however. Exploitation? In China they take a different view which amounts to the following. It is impossible to do without private enterprise which promotes economic progress and helps improve living standards. Further, there is no equating hired labour under capitalism with that in a socialist society. In the latter case, whether to work for a private employer or for the state is the choice of the worker himself, who is free to change jobs at any time. The state protects his interests.

Moreover, the employer is not an exploiter because he works himself. What actually happens is an exchange, with one side having money and the other, a skill to offer. The employer makes a profit in the same way as an investor draws interest on his savings.

I can't say that this reasoning convinced me, but neither am I going to dispute it. In China, just as in our own country, private enterprise gives rise to a lot of idle talk. Time alone will tell whether this practice is economically expedient.

Crowds

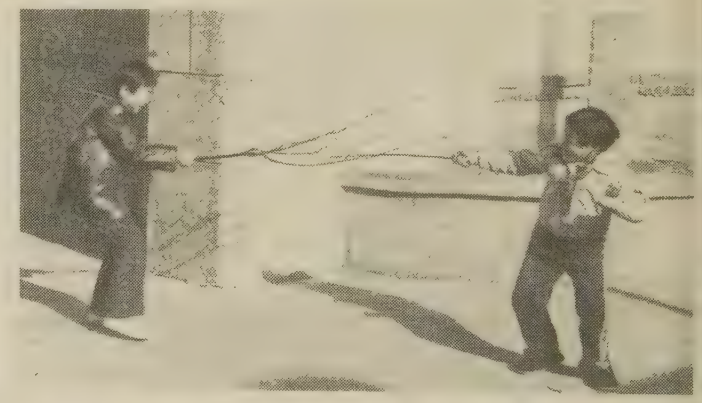
Just a few hours' stay in Peking or Shanghai (even if you don't go on sightseeing tours) will give you an idea of how crowded those cities are. The streets are actually flooded with people. The country's overpopulation (1.07 billion) manifests itself everywhere, especially in the cities.

Despite all the restrictive measures taken, Peking's population is growing at an average rate of 100,000 a year. Every newcomer costs the government 40,000 yuans in annual rent, water, education, medical care and transport subsidies. Besides permanent residents, there are the so-called migrants who are granted temporary residence permits for terms of one to two years: mostly construction workers, traders, small workshop owners and home helps. Their number runs into hundreds of thousands. Finally, there are visitors, of whom more than a million arrive in a city daily.

The Peking municipal authorities believe that without the influx of new blood the city would be dead. This is cold comfort, however. Perpetual traffic jams, overcrowded public vehicles, long queues outside public toilets only go to confirm what a Peking taxi-driver told me: "We no longer have peak and off-peak hours in our streets. It's just one solid rush hour!"

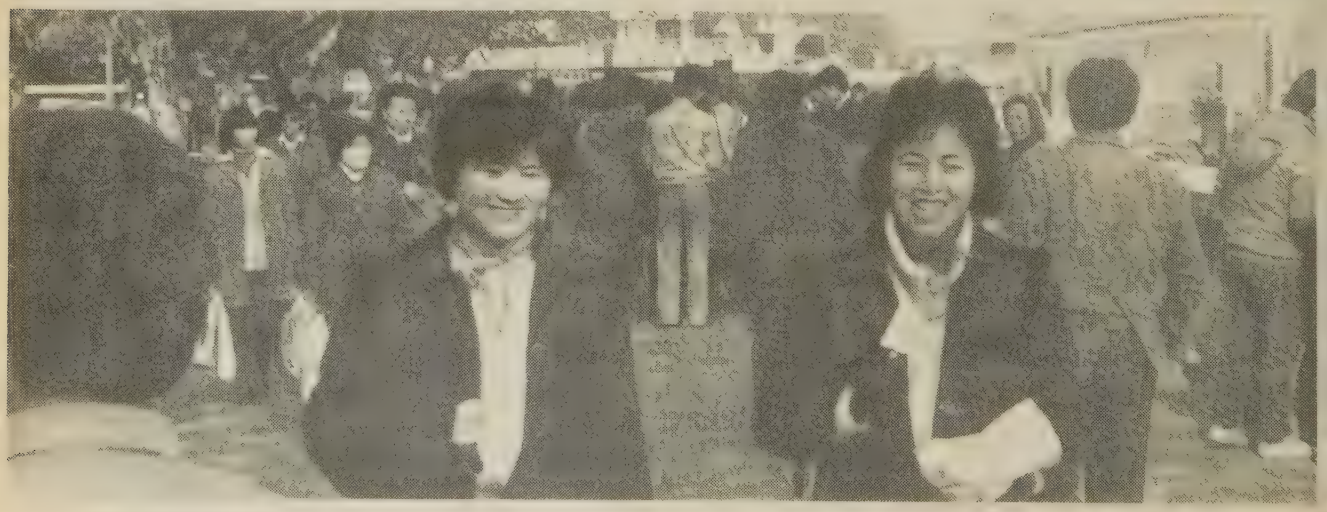
As a result, you find yourself squeezed in the midst of a crowd the moment you venture out. How are the passersby dressed, how do they look and feel?

It is not Paris, of course. But compared with the past, the city crowds have changed beyond recognition. Although dark tones still predominate, styles of dress and colours have become much more varied. Men wear thick trench coats, fur hats, nylon padded jackets and long green army-type topcoats. Teenagers sport blue jeans, leather tunics, bright sweaters. Women favour knitted caps, thick warm scarves, short sheepskin coats



A duel.

A street scene.



and boots. The overall impression is one of modesty and good taste.

People are sociable and friendly, and their faces no longer bear the stamp of apathy and alienation. Should you have a problem, there is always someone ready to give you a hand.

"Are you looking for a foreign bookshop?" a young man with an attache case asked me again in English. "It's quite near. Cross the street and you'll see it."

I dropped into the shop. In the 1950s the shelves of such shops were crammed with Soviet publications: books by classic and modern writers, subscription editions and periodicals. A real treasure house for book lovers! But today the Soviet section could boast only a modest collection: dictionaries, a few book titles, art books.

Parking is a problem.

Photos by author

True, the record collection was slightly bigger. But, in general, the choice was rather poor. A salesman tried to calm me by saying that the work of many Soviet authors is now being published in Chinese.

That is true. In 1985 China took first place in the world for the total number of books published. Among the six billion volumes put out in the country every year, there are also many translations from Russian. This is of course gratifying. But books in Russian are still in short supply. Lawyers from the Academy of Social Sciences in Shanghai complained to me about the lack of books on modern Soviet law in academic libraries. They still use books put out in the Soviet Union in the 1960s.

The people of Peking certainly read a lot. The bright covers of young people's, women's, sports, literary and fashion magazines are displayed at newsstands, and in the mornings the piles of newspapers sell out very quickly. People are longing for information, and knowledge. The policy of modernization impels people to learn constantly. Television is also making its contribution to this process.

The richness of the colours and the sharpness of the image on the screen of the TV set in my hotel room prompted me to think initially that it was manufactured by Sony, GVC or Sharp. But it turned out that the TV set was produced in China and is called a Peking. It is excellently designed and has a large screen. Last year Czechoslovakia bought 20,000 such sets, and they sold out in Prague in a few hours. In the same year 23 Chinese factories assembled 16.8 million TV sets, including 6 million colour ones. This is a record figure in the history of China and quite impressive for the world, the third largest after the United States and Japan.

In addition to TV sets, the rapidly growing electronics industry has produced 15 million radio cassette-recorders of various types, and a great many personal microcomputers.

Peking television has four channels, plus a special English-language programme for foreigners in the evening. The first newscast begins at 8.30 in the morning. During the day most of the programmes are educational. Mathematics, physics and chemistry for students, and English and Japanese lessons for children and adults. Television will also help those who want to learn to play the accordeon or become amateur photographers. Small children have not been forgotten either. They can hear a story or watch an animated cartoon.

In the evening, again news, concerts, sport, a programme called "Around the World," films. In the breaks between them are advertisements. They advertise washing machines, fridges, cosmetics, new medicines, beverages. The highlight of the evening's viewing is a serial. Television films and drama productions are the most popular genres on the small screen. On this occasion Central Chinese Television had shown a screen version of Cao Xueqin's classic novel "The Dream of the Red Chamber," in thirty-five instalments. It took four years to shoot, and has a cast of 120, selected from huge numbers of would-be stars. For the lead role alone almost a thousand people were auditioned. The idea underlying the serial is the same as that of the novel: through the fortunes of an aristocratic family, it shows the inevitable collapse of the feudal caste, and the certainty and irreversibility of social and political change.

When you see shots from television newsreels or watch crowds in the street, you notice unwittingly how young people look. The real age of a Chinese is almost always a mystery. The secret of his eternal youth is his innate love of work and the traditional and, in the not so distant past, enforced frugality of his vegetarian diet. In the past I have more than once got into trouble through taking the father of a family for a callow youth. And on this occasion I was not a little surprised to learn that my new acquaintance, the director of the publishing house Shijie Zhishi, Zu Le, was over sixty. I would never have guessed it.

The publishing house where he has been director for many years is not Peking's most important. But it is well known. It specializes in international subjects and puts out periodicals as well as books. The periodicals department issues five magazines, including the weekly The International Situation, roughly the equivalent of our New Times. Our common professional interest at once served as a basis for our acquaintance and resulted in a plan for future cooperation between our editorial offices.

The firm's staff is not large. But all those working there whom I met were people of the higheset competence, with broad outlooks and experience of working abroad. The time I spent with them seemed to fly. Director Zu Le and his right hand man, editor-in-chief Xiao Yang, both spoke excellent Russian. I communicated with many of the others in English.

Good will and openness reigned throughout our conversation. Nothing was taboo. The interest was mutual.

I told them my impressions of Peking. They agreed that there had indeed been many changes. But they all warned against euphoria. Despite the obvious achievements of recent years, the country continues to face problems and difficulties. There seem to be more of them than one might suppose. This was spoken of honestly and directly at the 13th Party Congress. Today a quarter of the population is either illiterate or semi-literate, and China's gross national income per capita holds one of the lowest places in the world. This is a fact that no one can escape. But it does not discourage the Chinese. Expenses are inevitable in any enterprise, all the more so in a new one. One must not be afraid of them. These are the difficulties of growth and progress. The cost of stagnation is higher.

(to be continued)

Alfredo Stroessner amid the hawks and the doves

YURI KUDIMOV

The news from the Asuncion, where "silent democracy" has reigned supreme for more than thirty years, strikes a new note. The Paraguayan capital is witnessing demonstrations, not of red-bandannaed supporters of the ruling Colorado Party, but of the opponents of the dictatorship demanding the overthrow of Stroessner.

Under the Paraguayan constitution street demonstrations by opposition parties are outlawed, and when they do occur "order" is promptly restored. During the Christmas holidays the police again arrested a number of leading functionaries of the main opposition force, the Authentic Liberal Radical Party. Nevertheless, the party's leader, Domingo Laino, is certain that Stroessner will "no longer be able to silence those who want the country to be free."

The signs are that the Colorado Party itself has lost its former unity. This was evidenced by its last congress which discussed nominations for the party chairmanship and eventually, perhaps, the presidency after the dictator departs from the scene.

Opinions in the Colorado Party were divided: the "militants" - supporters of reactionary Catholicism and rabid anti-Communists - put forward the candidacy of Interior Minister Sabino Augusto Montanaro, an old friend of the dictator. The "traditionalists" voted for Juan Ramon Chavez who had been chairman of the party for 25 years. The votes had already been counted and the associates of Paraguay's No. 1 policeman hastened to congratulate him on his victory when it suddenly transpired that a large part of the "traditionalists" had been debarred from the voting.

Montanaro's victory split the million-strong Colorado Party. Many of its members are said to be seeking alliance with the opposition or are already joining its ranks. However, the dictator still has the backing of the party machine, ministers deeply involved in contraband trade, and the army top crust.

But are the plans of Stroessner's "friends" with regard to the presidency not somewhat premature? The dictator has no intention of giving up the presidental throne he seized as far back as 1954. He is contesting the next presidential election, to be held on February 14, as he did the seven previous elections. True, his health is none too good, and he had his 75th birthday last year. For a time the traditional TV programmes devoted exclusively to his social activities were suspended.

But now he is again on the screen - grim-faced, haughty. The "great leader," the "brightest star in the firmament."

From "prosperity" to crisis

The paradox of the internal political situation in Paraguay is the fact that although the country is ruled by an openly fascist dictatorship a good part of the population has been largely indifferent to political struggle. Why?

For a long time the Paraguayans were economically comparatively well off. In the 1970s, for instance, the rate of industrial growth was stable due in large measure to huge investment in the gigantic Itaipu hydropower development. In fact, the Itaipu River became the symbol of the period of prosperity in Paraguay. Stroessner has always maintained that the reins of power are held by force and loyalty bought with money. And sure enough, the dictator was able for quite some time to buy the favour of the underprivileged population.

However, after the Itaipu boom years came the crisis of the 1980s. Half of Paraguay's manufacturing capacities are now at a standstill and the unemployment rate has reached 30 per cent. In the countryside there are hundreds of thousands of landless and land-hungry peasants. The Paraguay's foreign debt is rapidly soaring and is now approaching the two billion mark.

A specific destabilizing factor of the economy is contraband trade which is estimated at 600 million dollars a year. It is indicative that the biggest smuggler is said to be General Andres Rodriguez, the second most influential man in the country. His name was again in the news last year in connection with the seizure of a huge consignment of narcotics.

The deterioration of the economic situation has given rise to discontent among the poorer sections of the population. A notable feature of last year was a massive demonstration of peasants and medical personnel, which was brutally suppressed by the police. According to the Paraguayan Communists, who have been driven into the underground, peasant leaders are calling the people to armed uprising.

The opposition and the Church

The opposition, which is formally united in the Paraguayan National Accord, is weak. Apart from the above-mentioned

Stroessner (left) and Chavez in the heyday of their friendship.

Authentic Liberal Radical Party, it includes the Revolutionary Febrerista Party, which is affiliated with the Socialist International, the small Christian Democratic Party, and a splinter group that broke away from the ruling Popular Colorado Movement (MOPOCO) 30 years ago. Lack of a clear idea of how to fight the dictatorship, of the prospects of the country's development, and inclarity on the question of power in general - all combine to prevent the opposition from playing a more prominent role in the life of the country.

A thriving democracy! This is not for Paraguay. Photos from Newsweek (U.S.A.)

Dissatisfied with the indecision of the "official" opposition, students, intellectuals and peasants recently united in the People's Democratic Movement, which demands the removal of Stroessner from power, adheres to anti-imperialist positions, and has the support of the Paraguayan Communists.

The Church has begun to play a more prominent role in Paraguayan politics. It has tried to cement the ranks of the opposition and win over the trade unions. The influence of the Church is strong among the youth.

What will the "centurions" say?

The army continues to be Stroessner's mainstay. It numbers 14,000 servicemen and is armed with American weapons, which have latterly been supplemented by Brazilian armoured vehicles and artillery. The Air Force consists of about 2,000 men equipped with American transport and assault planes. Stroessner's son Gustavo, who is also seen as a successor to the presidency, is an Air Force colonel. In contingencies the dictator can also call upon some 60,000 reservists and up to 100,000 national and territorial guardsmen. Moreover, a police force of 5,000 is in constant readiness.

Under present laws, officers of the Paraguayan armed forces are required to be members of the Colorado Party. In a word, any aspirant to the presidency must first of all ensure himself the support of the generals.

Latest events, however, have shown that Stroessner does not have the backing of the whole army. According to some sources, delegates to the recent Colorado Party congress, dissatisfied by the farcical election of the party chairman, met at General Andres Rodriguez' country house and adopted a plan for the establishment of a coalition of all the groups that have broken away from the Colorado Party.

Washington's calculations

One sign that trouble is brewing in Paraguay is, in my opinion, the state of the relations between Asuncion and Washington. The U.S. is displeased with the human rights situation in Paraguay, and U.S. Ambassador Clyde Taylor is in danger of being declared persona non grata for his criticism of the state of affairs in this respect. The U.S. has denied Paraguay preferential treatment in trade, has vetoed proposals for IMF and World Bank financial aid to it, and is winding up its arms deliveries to Paraguay.

Some Washington politicians have evidently decided that it is time for Stroessner to step down, as Duvalier and Marcos have done. And so Washington has begun to cast about for an alternative figure to replace the aging dictator in order not to lose its own positions in Paraguay. This explains Ambassador Taylor's active contacts with opposition leaders in Asuncion.

On the other hand, it looks as if Washington has not yet taken a definite stand on the "Paraguayan problem." Observers have noted that Vernon Walters, the U.S. U.N. Ambassador, in a speech about the situation in South America in which he sharply ctiticized the Pinochet regime in Chile, made no mention whatever of Stroessner. The "doves," however, would prefer a change of scene in the presidential palace.

CENTRAL AMERICA

Nicaragua favours talks

●THE PRESIDENTS OF THE CENTRAL AMERICAN COUNTRIES MET IN SAN JOSÉ, THE COSTA RICAN CAPITAL, ON JANUARY 15 AND 16.

They considered the progress made on the Guatemalan resolutions on ways of achieving a peaceful settlement in the region. There was a clash of opinions and positions. The Costa Rican government is sincerely interested in a peaceful settlement of the region's problems. That cannot, however, be said of the governments of El Salvador and Honduras. On the eve of the meeting, Costa Rica's President Oscar Arias Sanchez demanded that three leaders of the Nicaraguan counterrevolution - Chamorro, Robelo and Cesar - should leave the country unless they give up their armed struggle against Nicaragua. But when the Presidents of El Salvador and Honduras - Duarte and Azcona - arrived in San José the day before the conference, they held a press conference at which they attacked Nicaragua.

The Presidents met behind closed doors.

On the first day it was rumoured that their meeting would end in failure. The tension only relaxed when journalists received the text of the Nicaraguan President's statement. Daniel Ortega announced that his government was ready to start immediate direct talks with the contras on a cease-fire and that it would lift the state of emergency imposed in 1982, extend the amnesty and release Somoza's followers from prison, if the United States or any other country was prepared to receive them. Ortega also announced that municipal elections would be held in accordance with the Constitution.

Immediately reports appeared that the Costa Rican President did not object to immediate talks with the contras in Costa Rica.

The governments of the Central American countries have not carried out all the provisions of the Guatemalan document in full, and they must make good this failure as quickly as possible. They must hold talks on stopping the armed struggle in their own countries, put through a general amnesty, and take additional steps to further democratization.

The Presidents displayed statesmanship in adopting a document that will make it possible to continue the process of a peaceful settlement in the region. But much depends on the stand of the United States and its readiness to refuse the contras military aid. The Honduran government will have to close down the contras' bases and remove them from the country. Where to? This is far from being an idle question, and there are plenty more like it.

VLADIMIR DOLGOV

San José

Competent managers wanted

A husband and wife came with their three-month-old baby to a wise man for advice as to when they should start educating their child.

"You are late already," replied the wise man. "You should have started three months ago."

That story came to my mind when I was thinking about the first steps of the economic reform in this country and the morality and world outlook we have brought to it.

There is no point listing once again the gross miscalculations in our economic policy in past years, including the years of stagnation. They are common knowledge, and the reasons for them are now being examined. But there is one reason that does not often head the list, but which in my view is basic. It is the fact that in the past the organizers and captains of production ignored objective economic laws, while the masses of ordinary workers did not even know them. As a result, what we have inherited from the past is fairly widespread economic illiteracy.

YURI SHEVCHENKO

The present transition from command methods of running the economy to economic methods has brought that home to us. Time and again we come up against the inability of both specialists and workers to think in economic terms and act accordingly, to count and calculate. Moreover, an evident distaste for such things is apparent. Unfortunately, that is both comprehensible and explicable. Only yesterday, no matter how well versed you were in theory, it was someone higher up the ladder who did the counting and made the decisions, guaranteed sales, funds, wages and set targets.

Today the situation has changed dramatically. Everything, at least at factory level, has to be decided independently, and full responsibility taken for everything. It makes you want to say that the age of the amateur is coming to an end.

But is it? The amateurs must be replaced by educated qualified specialists. And not just a handful, or even a few hundred, but thousands of captains of industry. Where are they to come from?

Take a look at the doors - or rather the wide gates through which a column of people is drifting into our economy, people who are incompetent, but will have a go at anything, without knowing how to go about it properly. These gates lead from the schools, technical schools and colleges. And it is the inadequate, weak foundations of an economic education given to them that fuels the national amateurism.

So what should be done? Simultaneously with the economic reform (or even better, in advance of it) a reform in economic education should be put through, a nationwide effort. Concrete steps are already being taken, but unfortunately they have come too late.

Mistakes that could be put right

The need for a sharp turn towards economic knowledge is evident not only in schools and colleges, but also in the numerous advanced college courses and refresher classes, in the thousands upon thousands of groups and seminars at factories, state and collective farms. It must embrace the entire nation.

What, in my view, is the most difficult thing? Briefly, to ensure continuity.

Let me explain. Difficult though it may be, school and college curricula can be revised to meet modern needs. It may not be easy, but we should be able to find the necessary teachers and organize the teaching process. But all that will be in vain if the process of acquiring economic knowledge breaks off abruptly outside the doors of educational establishments.

Any halt on this road is the equivalent of a step backwards. Throughout their lives people continue to learn. That applies fully to the economic sphere. But what happened in the past? Economic studies at factories were conducted formally, simply for the sake of reports. People joined groups and seminars under pressure; the lectures were boring - a mere listing of documents and edicts, difficult to understand and of interest to almost no one.

The need for change is obvious. It is essential to move away from documents and get down to practical studies of cost-accounting and economic norms, to learn to cope with computers and learn management.

But documents differ too. There is one that will remain essential for economic knowledge for a long time to come. That is the Law on State Enterprise. Getting to know it is the first step in acquiring an economic education. Not for nothing is it the first on the agenda at all economic seminars.

But how was it studied? In many parts of the country, studying it was reduced to just a few general lectures. That is what happened in the Ukraine, in Kazakhstan, in Uzbekistan, in the Kuibyshev Region. It was considered formally, out of the context of local conditions, of a factory's or farm's own production problems just as it was in the past.

To quote Confucius - mistakes that are not rectified are real mistakes.

The initiative and enterprise needed by perestroika will not come on their own. They have to be instilled and encouraged. Yet schools of management are virtually non-existent in our country. Why shouldn't we learn from our colleagues - both in the socialist countries and in the West? It's no disgrace to learn everything that could prove valuable and useful. Otherwise, a year or two from now, it might be too late.

Seeing eye to eye

MILOS JAKES, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, talks about his visit to the Soviet Union

On his way home, Milos Jakes gave an impromptu press conference for the Czechoslovak newsmen who accompanied him on his visit to Moscow. It started an hour after the plane carrying the Czechoslovak delegation had taken off for Prague. The newsmen asked the General Secretary to share his impressions of the talks he had just held with Soviet leaders.

Milos Jakes had a crowded schedule in Moscow. But the central event of the visit, determining the content of its programme, was his meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin.

"For me personally it was a useful and necessary meeting," he said, "not only because I have recently been elected General Secretary, but mainly because there are many areas of mutual interest requiring consultations to decide what further joint action we should undertake."

The talks centred on the Soviet experience of perestroika and the promotion of cooperation in the economic and other fields. The two questions are, in effect, closely linked because perestroika is impossible without cooperation and, equally, it is no longer possible to cooperate in the old way, without perestroika.

The Czechoslovak people have not forgotten that the Soviet experience of building socialism has helped them on their way, and they are using this experience. It has been so in the past, and is so today, when the two parties believe that the strategic goal of economic and social developoment can be achieved through perestroika and democratization. The work of the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which embarked on the course of perestroika, was inspired by the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

How and how much is Soviet experience used in practice?

"The Leninist policy of the CPSU and the revolutionary changes taking place in the Soviet Union are being closely examined in Czechoslovakia," Milos Jakes replied. "We have traversed our own path of historical development. Therefore, turning to Soviet experience, we also take into account our own specific conditions. But we are advancing along a common course towards common revolutionary goals, and not infrequently we use common or similar methods. For us, as well as for the Soviet Union, it is important to release the initiative and creative potential of the people and mobilize them to further the progress of society. Like the Soviet people, we are seeking to extend democratic principles in our society."

At his meetings in Moscow, Milos Jakes told Soviet leaders of the significance of the 7th Plenum of the CPCz Central Committee late last year, and the questions it raised with regard to implementing the strategic policy charted by the 17th CPCz Congress for the accelerated economic and social development of Czechoslovakia.

The Plenum adopted an important decision on the further comprehensive reform of the national economic mechanism and on the extension of socialist democracy in the country. It also considered radical measures for reorganizing party work, strengthening the unity and efficiency of the party, and improving personnel policy.

"The Plenum noted," Milos Jakes said, "that in the period after the 17th Congress we could have made for greater progress than we have done and we could have achieved more."

Economic cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union was the main subject of the talk between the two general secretaries, which lasted several hours.

"The present forms of cooperation are no longer enough today," Milos Jakes pointed out. "The current exchange of our equipment and manufactured goods for Soviet raw materials no longer has much future. We are going to use new forms of cooperation based on intra-branch specialization and co-production more widely than before. In the first place, we shall expand direct production ties between enterprises in our two countries, and set up joint ventures with third countries.

"The new ideas and plans are currently cutting across the barriers of the past, old habits and bureaucratic instructions. However, concepts of long-term cooperation for the next 15-20 years are already being drawn up. There are a lot of suggestions and ideas in this respect, but they have to be discussed and elaborated.

"Closer interaction is necessary in other spheres too. I have in mind direct contacts between citizens of our countries, friendly relations between people with common interests. We shall expand cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union in all spheres."

Milos Jakes cited the following example.

"Comrade Gorbachev and I have discussed not only important economic questions but also questions relating to people's everyday affairs and concerns. An exhibition on Soviet Russia was held recently in Czechoslovakia. It drew much attention to the work done by Soviet surgeons Ilizarov and Fyodorov. We have agreed to ask these outstanding scientists to come to Czechoslovakia where, having worked at specialized institutions, they could share their experience with their Czechoslovak colleagues. If Ilizarov and Fyodorov organize their schools and have disciples in other countries, this will be cooperation directly ensuring the vital interests of the people.

"Or take another suggestion. Why not convene a world or European conference of teachers in Prague, in connection with the forthcoming 400th anniversary of the birth of Jan Amos Komensky, with the aim of promoting the education of young people in the spirit of peace?

"Many opportunities of this kind can also be found in other spheres."

The leaders of the two countries also discussed foreign policy issues. Milos Jakes spoke on behalf of the Czechoslovak people when he stressed that his country fully supports the foreign policy of the CPSU. The Soviet-American INF Treaty was hailed as a major success for the entire socialist community.

Milos Jakes paid a brief visit to the Soviet Union. But its results are considerable. They will soon be reflected in our country.

MILOSLAV VITEK
deputy editor-in-chief,
Rude Pravo
Moscow-Prague

Helping each other

Most healthy people prefer not to think about the disabled. At best, they sympathize with their plight, at worst, they are indifferent. Yet these people, like everyone else, are entitled to equal rights. Despite their physical disability, they have a rich spiritual life, imagination and a desire to be like everyone else....

According to U.N. statistics, there are at present more than 500 million disabled persons in the world, including 140 million children. 300 million live in the developing countries.

Most disabled persons are unable to lead a full life. Can we tolerate such a situation? Society should care for the disabled. And it is not a question of providing special rights.

1981 was proclaimed by the United Nations the International Year of Disabled Persons in the hope of making the world community stop and think about their fate. 1983-1992 has been proclaimed U.N. Decade of Disabled Persons, and in 1982 the United Nations adopted a World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons. It sets three tasks: to prevent disablement, to ensure rehabilitation, and to create equal opportunities for the disabled.

...Does a healthy person often reflect on how much effort it costs a disabled person - a blind person or one unable to walk - to obtain a grant, get an appointment with an official, visit a doctor, go to a concert or simply go to a shop for bread without somebody else's help? A person without limbs, for instance, needs a self-propelled wheelchair that can pass through entrances, enter lifts and buses.... Pavements and stairs have to have special runways, and transport, special facilities.

It is society's job to remove the concrete physical barriers a disabled person encounters in his daily life. The United Nations centre for Human Settlements does what it can, but U.N.efforts alone are not enough.

The first to respond to its appeal were the Common Market countries. The European Parliament gave its official backing to the World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons and approved the European standards which would make buildings and public places accessible to the disabled. The first results have already been obtained. In some European cities you will notice that some telephone booths and public facilities have wider doorways so that a wheelchair can pass through. Pavements and public buildings have paved ramps. There are traffic lights that emit sound signals for the blind, buses and carriages in the underground with special doors and hoists for wheelchairs. In Japan, on some of the pavements there are special raised dots to guide the blind.

In our country, regrettably, this work is only beginning. Production has begun (but under licence) of an excellent type of wheelchair. Unfortunately, however, it does not fit into our lifts, nor do entrances to administrative and official buildings have ramps. Yet in 1982 the International Organization for Standardization developed and distributed something like 5,000 norms for the construction of buildings with an eye to the needs of the disabled.

And on the basis of this the British association for the disabled compiled a 16-point handbook explaining how to ease access to buildings for the disabled.

In 1986 the International Civil Aviation Organization approved several dozen norms ensuring easy access for the disabled to airports and aircraft. Additional norms designed to make it easier for the disabled to use cars, car parks and reduce road accidents were adopted by an international Road Safety organization.

About 45 countries working with the World Health Organization have drawn up programmes to prevent blindness. The WHO has allocated developing countries additional funds to combat polio, TB, leprosy and other dangerous disabling diseases. UNESCO is also making its contribution, with special programmes to expand the use of sign language and Braille in the educational system, and make the latest information and study facilities available to the deaf and blind.

In August 1987, U.N. experts met in Stockholm for a conference to review the progress of the World Programme of Action Concerning Disabled Persons. The experts described the results and, in particular, the attention paid by governments to the problem as unsatisfactory.

The participants in the conference, who were for the most part severely disabled people, stated that any real progress in the position of the disabled is linked directly with the eradication or prevention of the main causes of disablement, such as war and other forms of violence, hunger, disease, poverty, pollution of the environment, transport and technological accidents, and natural disasters. The conference urged the speedy drawing up of an international convention banning all forms of discrimination against disiabled persons.

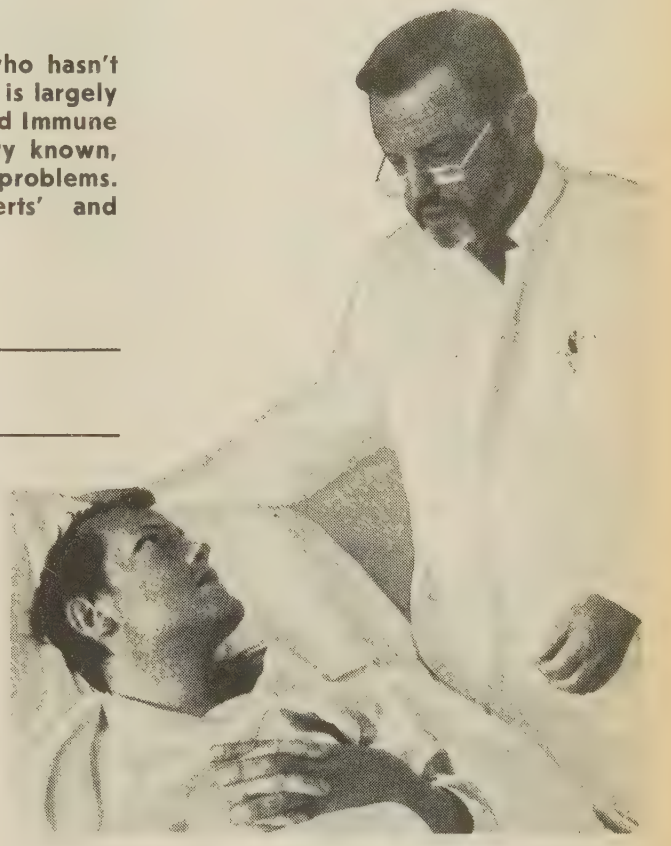
But the appearance of a universal code of rights for disabled persons will not automatically improve their lot immediately and everywhere. Most countries still have to make major efforts to bring conditions for the disabled to an average standard at least, in keeping with human dignity.

Arid statistics about the standard of living of the disabled and the availability of medicines cannot compensate for the misery of those who can never hear music, see the sun, or walk the streets. It is the duty of us all - each one of us - to help them.

SERGEI KOSTIN

AIDS: aren't our fears exaggerated?

There is hardly a person in the world today who hasn't heard of AIDS. The media treatment of the subject is largely based on hearsay or conjecture. Combating Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, as this disease is technically known, involves medical, social, moral and ethical problems. Therefore, we offer you two medical experts' and a sociologist's views on the problem of AIDS.



EXPERT OPINION

Dr François Deniaud:

"Observe medical ethics"

Dr François Deniaud works at the Pasteur Institute. On graduating from medical school he was an intern at a San Francisco hospital where AIDS cases were being treated. Now he is studying the AIDS situation in various countries and elaborating preventive measures.

Can AIDS be described as the plague of the 20th century?

Physically, the plague took a much heavier toll: medicine was inadequately equipped to offer it effective resistance, and prophylaxis was still in its infancy.

Psychologically, the first AIDS cases felt much as the first plague victims did: they were effectively ostracized. But now the situation is changing for the better - in France, at any rate. We are trying to bring authentic information about AIDS to every Frenchman. The people here know the degree of risk, the ways in which the virus is communicated, and realize that AIDS is not contagious.

Aren't you being too categorical in claiming that all the ways in which the virus is communicated are known?

Research is still in progress, but what we have discovered to date confirms that there are three channels of infection: sex, blood transfusions (specifically, in cases where the same syringe is reused) and mother-to-child (at the pre-natal or breast-feeding stage; we have succeeded in isolating the AIDS virus in mother's milk).

Do doctors themselves run any risks?

There has not been a single case of a doctor being infected while merely examining patients. Those who do blood testing and perform operations are indeed exposed to a certain degree of risk. A surgeon must be careful least as much as a drop of an AIDS patient's blood make contact with his skin, for this could cause infection. Doctors should wear protective goggles and masks. Dentists should also take protective measures.

Is it dangerous to kiss?

The AIDS virus has been detected in saliva, but in concentrations too low to cause infection. Generally, the virus is very rarely found in saliva. It takes two to three litres of saliva to cause infection - i.e. to introduce the virus into the blood stream in a high enough concentration.

Can AIDS patients be treated in an ordinary hospital? Aren't they dangerous to those around them?

I see no danger at all. You can shake hands with an AIDS victim, have a lunch with him or even drink from the same glass without running the slightest risk.

We tested healthy children who had happened to spend their holidays in the company of infected ones. The kids had been in a summer camp and played together, and even shared toothbrushes. The tests revealed that AIDS cannot be transmitted by casual contacts. However, several children contracted hepatitis, the virus of which proved more active than that of AIDS. Incidentally, the hepatitis virus - transmitted sexually, in blood transfusions or by inadequately sterilized

surgical instruments - is much like the AIDS virus in the way it spreads.

How many AIDS victims and persons exposed to the AIDS virus are there in France today?

More than 2,500 persons have gone down with AIDS to date. As for the number of those who have the AIDS virus in their blood, these statistics are not available for obvious reasons. We can tentatively put this figure at 150 to 300 thousand. This conclusion is based on the incidence of carriers among blood donors. All donors have been having their blood tested since August 1985. Previous stocks of donor blood have been destroyed.

Are the tests for exposure to the AIDS virus reliable?

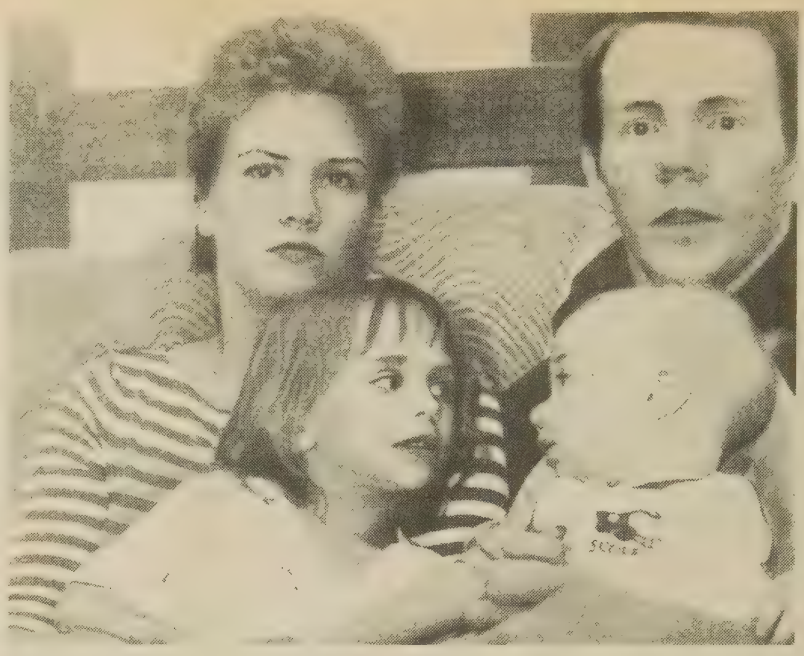
Not 100 per cent. An ordinary test is accurate to within one per cent. Sometimes we get a positive reaction although the person in question is not infected (in which case we simply repeat the test), or vice versa. Another problem: you can find out for certain whether a person is carrying the AIDS virus only three months after infection, when anti-bodies appear; earlier tests are useless. A positive test result is only indirect evidence, so we recommend repeating it six months later. You can have your blood tested for exposure to the AIDS virus by any doctor in France. A test costs 170 francs, with 70 per cent of the sum met by the social security. In the case of a positive reaction the test must be repeated using a different procedure, which costs 300 francs.

How many people have had their blood tested for AIDS?

We don't know. No doctor is obliged to make these statistics public.

Please explain to our readers the difference between AIDS victims and those infected with the AIDS virus.

After a person has been exposed to the AIDS virus, he does not automatically come ill. The length of the period between exposure to the virus and the onset of illness depends on the peculiarities of the exposed persons' organism. About 35 per cent of those infected develop full-blown AIDS. Some of those carrying the virus do not, but we have yet to learn for how long they remain out of danger (this research has been undertaken quite recently). Others develop non-specific symptoms. The full-blown illness progresses rapidly. This is the final form of AIDS virus infection. The symptoms vary. All the diseases this infection leads to have still to be classified.



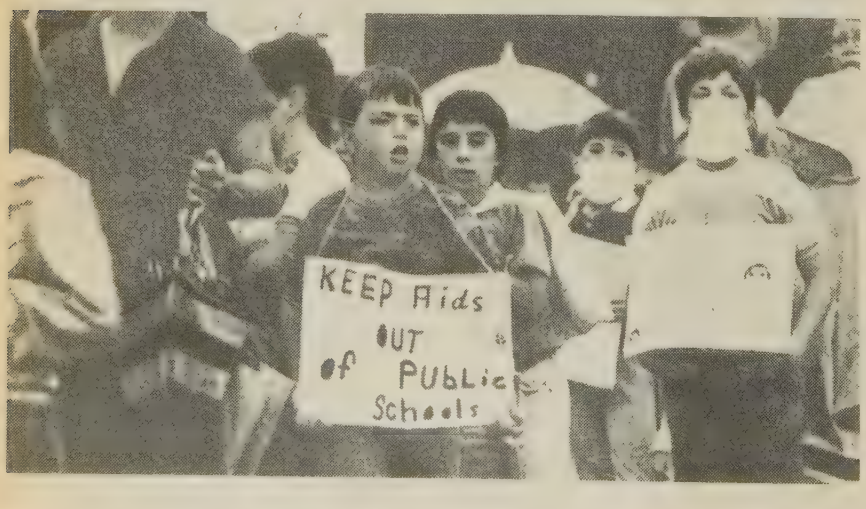
The head of this family contracted AIDS through a blood preparation (the donor blood bank had not been checked by then) and gave the virus to his wife sexually. The junior kid (now dead) took it from mother through placenta at the embryo stage. As to the daughter who was born earlier than her parents had contracted the disease, she is still well. This goes to show that AIDS is not transmitted by everyday contacts.

Can a person exposed to the AIDS virus lead a normal life and feel fine?

The virus was identified in 1981. Quite a few virus-infected people are showing no symptoms of AIDS. We don't know whether they will live out their days. What we do know is that it is impossible to get rid of the virus. An AIDS victim dies not of the virus, but of other diseases his organism can no longer resist because the virus breaks down the immune system. Pneumonia and cancer are the two diseases that kill AIDS victims. Pneumonia kills in 8-9 months, and cancer in eighteen months. There are good therapies which force these diseases to retreat but, unfortunately, they come back. We manage to prolong some of our patients' lives by two to three years.

How is research into the AIDS problem organized?

One hospital in each city has a special centre catering for AIDS victims. The Pasteur Institute, the leading research body, is carrying out research in close contact with other Paris and provincial institutes and laboratories. There is a general research programme which calls for a continuous exchange of information, including that with colleagues in other countries. Far from concentrating on any one concept, we are conducting investigations in different directions. Although our viewpoints vary, the very logic of our research helps us to take the right tracks. Large funds have been allocated to combating AIDS. Alerting the public to this health hazard through the papers and on television costs enormous sums of money. Doctors educate schoolchildren in anti-AIDS measures right in class.



Can AIDS be contained?

Yes it can, provided we bring all the relevant information home to everyone so that they realize the health risks they are running. There is no vaccine so far, so the only way to contain AIDS is to take preventive measures. Everyone must be aware of his or her personal responsibility.

Is this actually feasible?

You cannot compel a man to sleep only with his wife, of course, but, it is hoped that he will eventually arrive at this conclusion of his own accord, at least out of fear of contracting AIDS.

What should a doctor do upon learning that a patient of his has been infected with the AIDS virus?

The doctor has no right to tell anyone about it (except other doctors, if necessary). He must keep silent even if the patient is a danger to others. He must observe medical ethics. There is no alternative to that. The managers of certain companies tried to learn the results of tests their employees had done. These unlawful encroachments were cut short. I know that in the U.S. some insurance companies are trying to ferret out test results so as to cancel insurance contracts with AIDS carriers in good time.

What about forced treatment or subjecting those guilty of spreading AIDS to civil penalties? Have these measures been considered in France?

They have. But by whom? Le Pen, his "national front," and other extreme-right fascist groups.

Where are doctors seeking the remedy for AIDS?

We are working in different directions, looking for the anti-virus vaccine and for ways of destroying or blocking the virus. AIDS case histories are being thoroughly studied. We still have a great deal to learn about the disease.

Where can salvation come from?

The healthy need a vaccine, and the sick - a medicine. I don't think we shall obtain either earlier than the mid-nineties. The Americans have already developed a prototype vaccine and are to start testing it soon on man. They have isolated the non-virulent part of the virus and hope to build up immunity against it on this basis. A trial on macaque monkeys has been a success. Under different circumstances the test stage would have been prolonged, but in this case we cannot take our time - the matter is urgent. One thing is clear: the vaccine is harmless, and the tests are perfectly safe. But will it prove of any help? Voluntary "guinea pigs" have already presented themselves. The new preparation will be tested on healthy persons first, and AIDS victims later. How will its efficacy be determined? You cannot expose those being vaccinated to the virus for research purposes!

How does French public treat AIDS victims? Aren't they regarded as criminals who can infect the whole of society?

We must get rid of this repulsive stereotype as soon as possible. Society needs tolerance in general, especially so in this particular area. After all, we realize how hard it is for drug addicts to give up the habit. Now disposable syringes have been made available everywhere for the express purpose of preventing the spread of infection. Clinics take special pains to sterilize their equipment. Sterilization takes hours now. Condoms ought to come into common use. In the U.S. this is no problem, while our men with their temperament for some reason ignore them. Today condoms can be purchased not only at a pharmacy (with all the other customers within earshot and looking on) but at self-service stores as well, without attracting undue attention.

A PRACTISING PHYSICIAN'S VIEW

Professor Marc Gentilini: "Epidemics burn themselves out"

Marc Gentilini treats AIDS victims at Paris' Pitié-Salpetrière hospital. He is a leading specialist in tropical diseases.

How many AIDS cases are there in your department?

We have forty beds, of which 30 are occupied at the moment. Moreover, some victims regularly report to the clinic for out-patient treatment. We admitted our first AIDS case in 1982.

What's the death rate?

There is a death every three days.

Doesn't each new death fill you with despair?

We feel tired. It is those who learn they are ill that slump into despair. The disease we treat has a clearly manifest psychological aspect. Just imagine how it feels to learn you are incurably ill. A young, healthy and vigorous person suddenly finds himself on the brink of a precipice... Most of those who fall ill are extroverts - extremely sociable, gregarious people. They immediately retreat into themselves, and a vacuum forms around them. Many will not mix with them. They lose many friends who start avoiding them, and break with others so as not to see fear in their eyes. But mind you, in order to hold out a victim should muster all his physical resources, and retain his self-confidence and optimism. Only his real friends do not desert him - and besides, there are voluntary helpers. Support AIDS Victims associations are now being set up in our country by the sick persons themselves who wish to help each other, by mothers whose children have died of the disease, and by young people motivated by ideas of humanism.

So far doctors can only alleviate the victims' sufferings, prolong their lives, but not cure them, is that right?

That's right, most unfortunately. Scientists have found a retrovirus and determined its origin. This is a triumph for them, and they are pleased with themselves. As for physicians, they have nothing to boast of: no medicines. I'd like to note a lack of understanding between the scientists dealing with this problem and practising physicians. So far we have no common language, and I take most of what our theoreticians say in the papers and on television with a pinch of salt. Practising physicians must be given the floor.

When do you think the cure for AIDS will be found?

God alone knows.

How widely is the virus spread across the world?

It is only politicians who believe in the existence of borders. There is no stopping the virus.

Does this mean that it can threaten the whole of mankind with extinction?

Of course not, despite all the alarming statistics. No disaster is going to occur. We know from history that epidemics burn themselves out. The virus has become dangerous to man owing to a mutation. However, the mutation process is continuous and can make the virus harmless again. The human organism itself is capable of building up powerful defences.

As for the high-risk groups, they must change their behaviour. True, excessive

austerity can only make things worse still. Scaring and intimidating people won't get us anywhere, but some measures have to be taken. Homosexuals must think of themselves. I think that their lack of restraint has helped the virus adapt to the human organism. If the virus can change its behaviour, why can't man? However, drug addiction is a still greater danger. At my estimate, sexual contacts can cause infection in one case in a hundred, and the use of a virus carrier's syringe in 100 per cent of cases. The number of virus-infected drug addicts is growing fast.

What is to be done about that?

Drug addiction must be combated in earnest. Instead of being jailed, drug addicts must be treated. As for drug traffickers, these shouldn't be spared.

What conditions do you offer your AIDS patients in hospital?

Each has a ward to himself unless he wishes to share it with another inmate. There is a TV-set and a telephone in every ward. We seek to reduce their stay at the hospital to the minimum, because a hospital is not the most cheerful place on earth, you understand. We put the accent on outpatient treatment, and hospitalize only those who really need round-the-clock attention.

How much does it cost the hospital to treat AIDS victims?

I don't know the exact figure. The medicinal preparations we use are very expensive. There is a medicine one injection of which costs 900 francs. All our expenses are compensated for, however.

Is there a danger of you contracting the disease?

Well, I don't sleep with my patients, you know.

Aren't the other patients under your care wary of their AIDS-infected neighbours?

They have nothing to fear. We do not put them in the same wards as AIDS cases. In our opinion, it is inexpedient to set up a special department given over to the disease. They feel no discrimination at all on the part of the paramedicals and other patients. On the contrary, AIDS victims are given maximum attention. They are treated as patients in need of good and persistent therapy rather than like doomed people.

What do you hope for?

According to statistics, from 10 to 30 per cent of those who have the virus in their blood develop full-blown AIDS within five years of exposure. But then, 70 to 90 per cent don't! This fact, the causes of which are obscure so far, gives us hope.

What should society's attitude to AIDS victims be?

We in France were, perhaps, the first to realize how grave the disease is, and have managed to educate the public to the necessity of showing consideration for its victims. Our society is most tolerant of these unfotunate wretches, who need support and sympathy. AIDS must be accurately classified among the killer diseases, some of which are still deadlier and more devastating.

Interviewed by
LEONID MLECHIN

A SOCIOLOGIST'S VIEW

Leonid Ionin, Ph. D.

"A virus of intolerance"

Scientists are of the opinion that AIDS has spread beyond the confines of the "high-risk groups" - homosexuals, drug addicts, prostitutes. The virus affects adults (both single and married) and children alike. It has become a menace to all. Vigorous measures to contain the disease are being taken in a number of countries. Ever louder voices are heard demanding that draconian laws be passed to "isolate" the risk groups. There is talk of moving those afflicted with the disease to special reservations like those in which lepers used to be confined. If this is ever done (just imagine it), an island of the sick will break away from our large continent of the healthy. If we are to believe the doctors who predict that there will be a million AIDS victims by 1991, there are going to be quite a lot of people on that "breakaway" island in our country.

What's your attitude to the idea of reservations?

I don't like it at all for many reasons. First of all, it's not clear who the reservations would be intended for. The sick must be treated, rather than banished, and isolating a virus carrier makes no sense. The fact that a person has the virus in his blood is no indication that he is ill with AIDS, that he will even develop the full-blown disease, or that he is infectious. After all, not all those exposed to the AIDS virus are actually AIDS victims, and not all of them are infectious. As was pointed out at the New York conference, the incidence of illness among virus carriers constitutes 20-30 per cent. Some publications put the percentage at 10 percent and even lower. You cannot very well ostracize a person on the grounds that he may end up among those 10 per cent any more than you can arrest a child of five on the assumption that there is a 0.1-per cent possibility of his growing up to be a law breaker, and a 0.0001-per cent possibility of his committing a murder in later life. Although logical at first glance, this line of reasoning is in fact absurd.

Nevertheless, the isolation idea is widespread. We recently received a letter from Saransk, for instance, suggesting that all foreigners who could cause AIDS infection should be turned out of the U.S.S.R., and that our own "high-risk groups" (prostitutes, drug addicts and homosexuals) be confined to something like leper colonies. He insists that society must protect itself from this mortal danger.

Protection is necessary, but what should we protect ourselves from and how - this is the question. Society must protect itself from disease by medical and preventive measures.

Can't our reader's suggestion be interpreted as social preventive measures?

It can, but this would push us onto the slippery path I've mentioned - that of "preventive punishment." There was a period in the history of our state (I mean the twenties) when the notion of punishment was replaced by that of social defence. Accordingly, the term "dangerous condition" was used instead of "guilt." A person who had committed no crime but was believed to be "capable" of committing one could be locked up or exiled. That was "social prophylaxis" in action. The "socially dangerous elements" constituted a large percentage of the population of the archipelago which had broken away from our "continent of the healthy," as you put it. In the late 1950s our legislature abandoned the concept of "social defence." I am sure such manifestly anti-democratic measures will not be taken as part of the anti-AIDS campaign.

Most unfortunately, the virus of intolerance lives on in the world. Hostility towards people whose behaviour and way of life are at variance with generally accepted norms has been fostered and cultivated in our society for decades. Then came the AIDS virus. Indeed if it hadn't

A manual published in the U.S.S.R.

existed it would have had to be invented. What used to be a prejudice is now assuming the status of truth.

Let me explain this by an example. As a schoolboy, I lived near Nikitskiye Vorota, and I remember some of my coevals regularly going up to "bash the queers," as they put it. What "the queers" were bashed for? For being different from us. And now there has appeared a tangible reason for "queer-bashing": those who may spread AIDS.Whereas previously aberrants were simply disliked for no specific reason, now this dislike can go to the extreme and assume horrible forms. This refers both to the "high-risk groups" and to those who live and think "differently" - all sorts of hippies, punks and non-conformists in general... Sociologists call these groups marginal, i.e., existing on the margin of society. Now, in the light of AIDS, their marginality comes out in unprecedentedly high relief, and they get into the focus of public disapproval with all the ensuing consequences.

Are there any recipes for dealing with the situation? How, in your opinion, should we treat marginals "in the light of AIDS"?

The only recipe I can offer is to combat the disease rather than its potential carriers. Supposing piles - a condition typical of those leading a sedentary life - proved infectious. Would we make bureaucrats responsible for it? Obviously not; rather, we would treat them. As for bureaucracy, we shall combat it in other ways, through reforms. The same applies to drug addiction and prostitution; these are very complex social phenomena which have their roots in public life. If we substitute the AIDS problem by that of drug addiction, we shall solve neither. Nevertheless, such a substitution is constantly taking place in the public mind, which is already prejudiced against aberrants.

There is another high-risk group - the sexually promiscuous. For them the chances of contracting AIDS are considerable. However, this can hardly be described as a social problem - rather, as sexual dissipation. In this case moral indignation is justified....

Dissipation is a most ambiguous word. In any society, ours included, there exist a number of "sexual codes" for different age, social, professional and national groups. What "goes" in a city, is "taboo" in the countryside, and what is frowned upon in the East is common practice in European Russia or, say, in the Baltic Republics. So how are we to judge, in a given case, whether indignation is justified or whether it is a result of prejudice?

Is it justified in connection with AIDS?

Against the background of AIDS the problem appears much less complex. To quote a West German expert: "Promiscuity begins where an unknown third party is introduced." The danger of contracting AIDS increases accordingly.

So there is a strong restraining factor after all. Some have probably failed to realize the connection so far, but when it comes home to the public at large, changes in sexual morality and behavior will probably ensue. Does that mean that AIDS may serve to improve public morality?

It's wrong to say that. Behavior can be considered normal if it is natural rather than forced. Fear of consequences is no substitute for virtue, and AIDS is no moral reformer.

Besides, the facts of life do not corroborate your view. According to the findings of research undertaken in Paris, the AIDS scare caused by the media has failed to mend most Parisians' sexual ways.

Other factors have also played their part. I mean, for instance, the staggering of working hours on a mass scale, which has resulted in more adultery. The problem of drug addiction remains as big as ever. I do not expect AIDS to "improve" our own morals and behavior, either. On the contrary, it might make matters worse by encouraging intolerance of and moral terrorism with regard to certain marginal groups and their individual representatives. And this will mark a step away from democracy to authoritarianism.

I think you exaggerate the danger. On the contrary, public indignation and solidarity have an important role to play in fighting social evils.

Provided the cart is not put before the horse. You know how the "scapegoat mechanism" works: a group or an individual is proclaimed responsible for all misfortunes and setbacks, made a target of "unanimous condemnation" or "universal opprobrium," and removed from the scene - but the problem remains. So a new scapegoat is required.

Our readers (Trokhov of the Tashkent Region, for instance) wonder how much it costs to combat AIDS. Is there any competition among those who study AIDS? We have no notion of what is actually happening. The AIDS situation in the U.S. or France is well known to us: we are informed on how much these countries spend on research into AIDS and what their scientists and politicians are arguing about, but know next to nothing about our own scientists' views on the problem. What we have here is a kind of a monopoly on AIDS. Two or three scientists grant reassuring interviews from time to time, whereupon journalists tell their readers that all the necessary measures are being taken. Is it due to a shortage of information that certain quarters are trying to find a "scapegoat"?

Information is short, indeed. It is not only a matter of knowing what a certain

expert thinks, and where he disagrees with his opponents (for all the importance of knowing this). Society is in the dark about the strategy of the anti-AIDS campaign (social strategy in particular), about the prospects of the epidemic's development and of combating it, about alternative strategies (if any). No one denies an individual scientist the right to withhold his views from the public; but the Ministry of Health is simply obliged to offer us information of practical importance, I stress, not necessarily scientific - on what the future has in store for our society with regard to AIDS. Instead, the Ministry of Health gives us the habitual kid-glove treatment. Just use condoms, it tells the public, and leave the rest to us. Everything is under control; there is no cause for alarm....

Specific measures taken to contain AIDS have not been discussed either. So far these measures involve only a fraction of our society, but if the epidemic assumes threatening proportions they will be extended to practically everyone. Have you any comments to make about these measures?

It is hard to pass categorical judgement on them. The current situation in the West serves to show that no absolutely correct measures (except medical and individual hygienic ones) to contain AIDS have yet been found. We hear, for instance, that some AIDS-infected foreign citizens have taken a course of treatment and left for home. Considering that many developing countries do not accept AIDS victims, the fate of these people is extremely problematic. Can this be regarded as a „correct" measure?

And what about the cordons sanitaires on the boarders?

It seems to be only too natural, at first glance, for society to protect itself from infection. But the trouble is that this cordon can hardly be of much use to any country, let alone those with virus carriers of their own. This has been made perfectly clear by Jonathan Mann, Director of the International Programme to Combat the Spread of AIDS now being carried out within the framework of the World Health Organization (WHO). Supposing the cordon works. What is to be done then about those who have proved to have the virus in their blood? Are they to be treated? There is no cure for AIDS so far. Isolated from society? Problems demanding public discussion remain.

But what then is the use of testing people for exposure to the AIDS virus? We have about 50 laboratories carrying out such tests on a voluntary and anonymous basis. What do we achieve by identifying AIDS victims and virus carriers?

The victims' sufferings must be alleviated. Those who have the virus in their blood must know about it so as take proper care of themselves and of their families.

Supposing a man has an anonymous test and finds that he is infected with the virus and could be a threat to public health. What does he do?

He must take hygienic precautions and observe continence, unless there is a partner prepared to run any risks for the sake of consummating their love. This is not as improbable as it might seem: after all, people do sacrifice themselves to those they love. Such intimacy is risky for the healthy partner, of course, but not necessarily lethal.

Far from all AIDS virus carriers have an adequate sense of responsibility. Upon learning that they've contracted it, some cast all moral scruples aside and let themselves go, spreading the infection wide ("Who cares, if I'm going to die anyway!"), although the chances are they will never actually come down with AIDS. Doesn't it pay to make the tests mandatory and to isolate all those exposed to the virus?

Let's take an abstract society and imagine what would happen if it made testing mandatory. Such a society would gradually move toward "medical totalitarianism," with everyone under surveillance, and with only those free of AIDS entitled to a normal existence, with the infected confined to reservations and every unborn baby tested for AIDS. If you are pronounced infected, you lose your job and your family, are arrested and confined to a reservation. If you take flight, you are hunted like a wild animal. It sounds like a science fiction story about a totalitarian future, doesn't it? Reservations are zones free of total control where people live with AIDS and love with AIDS. Who can tell what might happen under the circumstances? Could the inmates grow immune to the virus?

Coming back to reality, there are reasons to fear that if we tighten safety measures and go to the length of isolating AIDS victims, we shall drive AIDS underground. Knowing what the detection of the virus in their blood would spell, people will avoid tests. Compulsion in this case would encroach on the individual's right to decide on his own fate.

So what is the alternative to this? Living with AIDS?

We have already got used to the fact that a certain percentage of the population is killed in car crashes and air disasters, and falls a victim to other "achievements" of civilization... AIDS is just one of the calamities labelled "the plague of the 20th century." The other "plagues" are alcoholism, cardio-vascular disease and drug addiction. Men can live with the "plague" without losing their humanity or their confidence that it will be overcome in the end. No matter how many lives it claims, AIDS does not threaten us with an Apocalypse. What **does** is the loss of faith in man's dignity and responsibility, in democratic values. In this sense, AIDS is a dangerous ordeal which we can and must pass through.

Interviewed by
TATIANA FIRSOVA

In May 1961, within four months of being sworn in, President Kennedy set NASA the objective of sending a manned spacecraft to the Moon, Brian O'Leary said. In 1969 America had a different President, but over the preceding eight years NASA had fulfilled Kennedy's mandate: Neil Armstrong and Edwin Aldrin, two American astronauts, became the first men on the Moon. If the new President of the United States puts a flight to Mars on the agenda, I don't see any technical or economic obstacles that could prevent my country from carrying it out, the only snag being the armaments policy, especially SDI. America spends billions of dollars a year on the programme. The technology employed in implementing it could be converted into manufacturing interplanetary spaceships. It is quite possible, therefore, to gear SDI personnel and technology to the Mars project. All the more so as the further developoment of SDI is bound to lead it up a blind alley in the end: the programme promises no contribution to overall technological progress. The money now going into SDI could pay for several Martian projects like the one we're contemplating.

Speaking of outer space and its conquerors, we recall those who promote scientific advance for the benefit of all of us living and working on this planet. The word combination "military astronautics" jars on the ear today. The U.S. Air Force is planning to carry out eleven programmes of exercises in near-earth space. According to the American magazine Aviation Week and Space Technology, these shuttle flights, the plans for which are being finalized by the U.S. Army, Navy and Air Force, are to settle a Pentagon argument of 25 years' standing on the relative usefulness of manned and unmanned space systems.

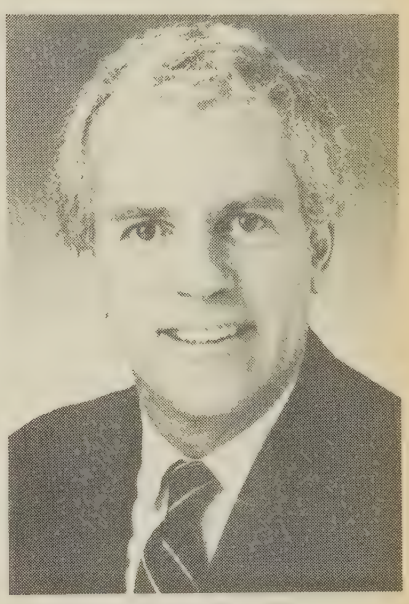
Asked to comment on that, O'Leary said that, in his opinion, a distinction should be drawn between military and "arms-orbiting" astronautics. The former is concerned with strategic and tactical intelligence, preventing hostile ballistic missile launchings, monitoring naval forces, and verifying the observance of treaties. SDI falls within the latter class of astronautics, which stands for such activities as putting various weapons in near-earth and higher orbits, interception and destruction of alien satellites, and other kinds of space sabotage. As an active member of the organization Future Focus, which calls for peace in space, Brian O'Leary stresses that now that mankind is stepping into a new era, this sort of astronautics must be renounced as soon as possible for the sake of the Martian programme, in particular.

At the age of 8, Brian saw Mars through a telescope for the first time: a small orange-red spot, with its polar ice-caps glittering in the sun. By the time he had

Brian O' Leary:

Mars is just too inviting for humans to pass up

Can a man who has never been on a space flight be referred to as a spaceman? Is landing on Mars by the end of the century a realistic proposition? Both questions can be answered in the affirmative. The name of the astronaut who has never lifted into orbit is Brian O'Leary, Ph.D. He is Chairman of the U.S. National Space Council, the author of the book "Mars 1999." Mr O'Leary has granted this interview to New Times.



torn his eye from the eyepiece, he knew he would be an astronaut, a space expolorer. Nineteen years later he joined a space flight preparation programme, but then the Vietnam war upset many Americans' plans. O'Leary has never been on a space mission....

Mars has always beckoned to dreamers. It appears to be the next logical extension of "home" for a growing human population.

In O'Leary's opinion, water is in abundance on its surface - true, in the form of ice. He even calls Mars "a huge orange balloon." Extracting minerals on Mars' moons, Phobos and Deimos, could be very profitable, and transporting them back to Earth should be no problem at all: owing to the moons' smallness, gravitational pull there is so weak that if you throw a stone across the horizon at an initial velocity of 40 kmh (which almost anyone can do) the stone will return to you from the other side of the moon three hours later. This means that much less fuel is required to take off from a Martian satellite than from Earth or even from our own Moon.

O'Leary dreams of setting up whole cities on our neighbour in space populating them with robot rovers to be controlled by astronauts from Phobos or Deimos. A radio signal takes 10 minutes to reach Mars from Earth, so it would be rather awkward to remote-control these mechanisms from our planet. This project gives truly cosmic scope for creative thinking. And what if we find, in a Martian ravine, a hihtherto unknown form of life indiscernible through a telescope from Earth?

In his book O'Leary dwells in detail on all stages of a voyage to the "red planet." Everything is extremely realistic, technically and economically feasible. O'Leary is of the opinion that the two nations should launch separate spacecraft that would fly towards Mars alongside one another, each as an emergency back-up for the other.

For astronomical reasons, the best take-off date is January 27, 1998. Having accelerated along a spiral Sun-bound trajectory, the two spacecraft will swing past Venus and then fly all the way to Mars by inertia. The swing-past will save fuel and zero-gravity time - after all, it is rather hard for cosmonauts to do without gravity for 22 months and even harder to get back into groove on return. Having aero-braked in the Martian atmosphere - rarefied as it is - the spacecraft will land on Phobos in December 1998.

Phobos and Deimos are the two odd, rocky moons of Mars described by O'Leary as "potato-shaped." With Phobos measuring twenty-six kilometres and Deimos sixteen along their longest axes, they are barely observable from Earth, even through the largest telescope. Within 100 million years, Phobos will crash into the surface of Mars, turning from a moon into a huge meteorite - unless someone engineers a solution.

Later this year the U.S.S.R. is to launch an unmanned space probe to Phobos which is to give us invaluable information about the chemical composition of the Martian moon's surface. Scientists expect it to answer the question of whether there is water on Phobos.

From the scientific angle, it would be much more expedient to use Phobos and Deimos as bases from which to explore Mars than to build settlements on the planet proper. The spacemen working on Mars would not be able to depart as far from the base as would a robot remote-controlled from a moon. Watching the robot from above is much easier; besides, the proximity of the moons to Mars puts them well within the range of high-resolution optical observation instruments and radars.

In outer space you can neither take your time, nor rush things - everything is subordinated to the law of celestial ballistics. Therefore, at O'Leary's estimate, both ships will return to Earth on November 7, 1999, allowing cosmonauts and astronauts enough time to re-adapt to gravity, and celebrate the new millennium and the onset of the first year of the non-nuclear age.

OLEG OSIPOV

The fate of an actor

People's memories are imperfect. Much is forgotten, even the faces of those you once loved. But so it happens that you overhear a snatch of conversation or come across a sentence or a quote, and you suddenly remember vividly what had seemed forgotten and lost.

That is the message of the production "Vladimir Vysotsky" which is to have its premiere on January 25, the day on which Vysotsky would have been 50. It's definitely a premiere, as it is absolutely impossible simply to take the 1981 production made immediately after the poet's death and removed from the repertoire, to the stage of 1988.

ALLA DEMIDOVA is one of those who knew him well, appreciated him and worked with him for many years. She took part in the first production and is playing in the new version.

N.T. For many people the Theatre of Drama and Comedy on Taganka remains Vysotsky's theatre. Do you feel that way too?

A.D. Probably I'll always feel that, otherwise it means tearing all the years connected with the theatre out of the pages of one's life. And how can one throw away such a big part of one's life, and probably the best too? Yes, we were young, unrecognized, inexperienced both as actors and in life - in other words, we all began on an equal footing. It's true that after the first year of the theatre's existence, a sort of division took place in the company: there were actors who played the lead roles, the supporting ones, and the rest. But it was all natural, without any formal hierarchy. Then many of us found interests outside the theatre - some began to act in films, others started writing, and yet others took part in concerts. Vladimir Vysotsky began writing and singing his own songs. We still all met in the theatre. But outside it, each had another life.

N.T. They say that during your work on the production "Vladimir Vysotsky" the studio spirit of those first days was revived?

A.D. I wouldn't call it a revival in the direct sense. It was different, but we were all together again. We were united by one idea, by our work, and working together always brings people closer to each other. Moreover, we had no ready script, and as in those first years, we improvised on a script together at rehearsals. That inspired us all.

N.T. When people go to the theatre they expect a miracle. When Vysotsky was at the top of his form, did miracles happen? Did the audience feel that they were present at the birth of something unusual?

A.D. I find it hard today to separate my present perception of Vysotsky from how I reacted to him in the past. But I remember one episode. Once he amazed me. To tell the truth, we paid little attention to one another, we were always in a hurry, seeking more exciting careers... I, knew, of course, that Volodya wrote songs - he liked to sing them backstage or whenever an occasion presented itself. Our theatre had a tradition of inviting famous personalities. And that was how after one performance we got to know the Alexei Kozlov jazz group - today famous throughout the country. When Dean Reed first came to our country, he naturally came to our theatre.

One day after a performance, Vysotsky gave a solo concert and I heard him on the stage for the first time. It was something terrific - he seemed absolutely different from the man we'd grown accustomed to. I realized immediately that he would go far.

N.T. From the mid-seventies Vysotsky was clearly becoming a personality in his own right. Did his colleagues in the theatre recognize this?

A.D. Some did, others didn't, while yet others, though not perhaps envying him, felt sceptical about his going it alone, criticized him for dropping the theatre in the middle of the season and going abroad for two months....Such things just weren't done in the theatre in general, and especially in our close-knit company. Unfortunately, many were jealous of his independence - they failed to perceive the stature of the man. In the theatre, as in a family, you often take a person for granted while he's there....Today - I'd rather not speak ill of other people - but many of those who condemned him are now singing his songs. But Vysotsky's death changed everyone. It forced both ill-wishers and admirers to take a new look at him.

N.T. To what extent did Vysotsky influence the theatre?

A.D. As I said, ten years after it was founded the Taganka Theatre had a close-knit nucleus. I wouldn't say any one individual influenced the theatre, although all were striking figures: Vysotsky, Filatov, Khmelnitsky, Gubenko. But they stuck together, and that made them a force.

N.T. Yet audiences still distinguished between the Taganka and Vysotsky.

A.D. I believe people flocked to the Taganka not only because of Vysotsky. Our repertoire included 19 plays. The theatre itself was like a bright star: the individuals who made up the theatre taken together produced this phenomenon. Although people came to see Hamlet specifically because of Vysotsky.

N.T. Little is known about the production you prepared together with Vysotsky and which never reached the stage. Could you say a few words about it?

A.D. For a long time we wanted to produce a so-called "chamber play," because the Taganka had started with mass plays, as a street theatre. Somewhere in the mid-1970s our audience and ourselves got interested in other problems

- the individual and relations between individuals. I, too, was taken with that idea and began looking around for something suitable. At first we tried to create a play based on the diaries of Leo Tolstoy and his wife Sofia, how two people who had lived together for many years reacted to events differently. The diaries were extremely interesting, but they required a lot of work. Then the translator Vitaly Wolf approached me and said that Tennessee Williams has a play for two actors in two versions and that he had translated them for me. We began thinking of a partner. "Vysotsky, of course Vysotsky!" I decided.

We invited him to Wolf's house for a reading of the play. He liked it. Later it was approved and marked down by the Ministry of Culture as "specially for Demidova and Vysotsky." That's why we were in no haste to produce it - why hurry? It was ours. And we didn't have the time. Vysotsky was travelling a lot, giving concerts in this country and abroad. I was busy with a film. At last we got down to it. The first act was ready - there were three. We even had a stage rehearsal of the first act. The second was more complicated, and we stumbled on it and stopped. Then the theatre started its Polish tour. We only returned in June, and a month and a half later Vysotsky died. Incidentally, when the theatre opened its small stage, some of our plans were linked with it: Vysotsky wanted to stage a one-man show. I also wanted a show of my own. In other words, there were plenty of ideas....

N.T. But Vysotsky did to some extent influence his times, and not for nothing has interest in him remained so great to this day.

A.D. We can say that only from the vantage point of today. Today our generation and the sixties and seventies are viewed through the prism of Vysotsky. But from the "inside" it looks different.

N.T. The theatre is described as the mirror of its times. To what extent can this be said of the Taganka?

A.D. Today we, the people, have recognized our social ills. We know we have to get over them. But how? First and foremost, one has to remain human, and seek out one's own individuality. As Dostoyevsky advised: begin with yourself. We have to resolve our moral problems, determine our attitude towards specific affairs: "What would I have done in that situation? What would my conscience have prompted"? And I think we have been prompted to this largely by the sincerity and naturalness of Vysotsky's generation, his work, his songs.

Vladimir Vysotsky. 1967

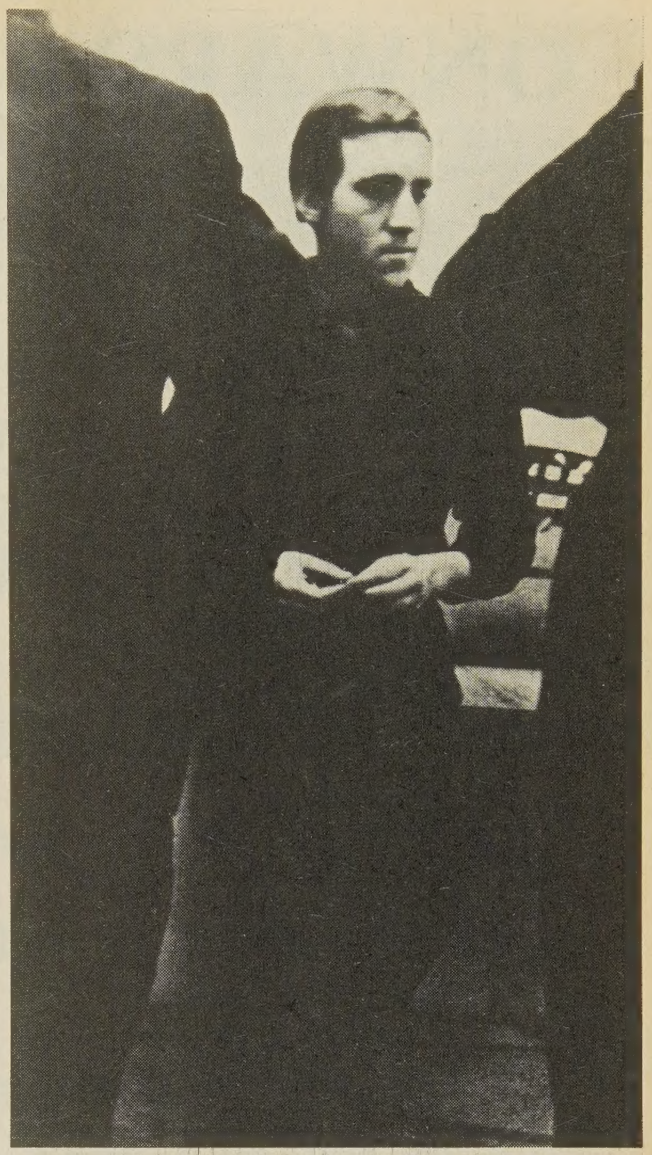


Photo by G. Gutman

Interviewed by
VALERY PEREVOZCHIKOV

NEW TIMES — 1988

People in 109 countries read New Times, a magazine founded in 1943 and today published in Russian, English, French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Polish and Czech languages.

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Subscriptions may be placed with all bookshops and firms handling Soviet publications as agencies of Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga.

ONWARD... ONWARD!

Denikin. While acknowledging the advisability of the methods and means we have just suggested applying, but which you employed so successfully, I, nonetheless, categorically deny your right to Russia's throne. I maintain that a Russian should occupy Russia's throne or whatever you call it.

Stalin (hurt). Nicolas II and all Russia's czars were so very Russian, weren't they? You're a chauvinist, general! Don't you think the very fact of raising such a question for such a multinational land as ours is simply immoral?

Denikin. I like to speak my mind straight out. There are things under you that I like and ...

Stalin. In his book about Moscow of 1937 Feuchtwanger recalls what Socrates said with regard to certain obscure points with Heraclitus. The great Socrates said this: "What I understand is wonderful. From which I deduce that what I don't understand is wonderful too."

The light changes. Fofanova's apartment. 15:00 p.m.

Lenin, depressed, concentrated, paces up and down. Struve rises.

Struve. Vladimir Ilyich, I'd like a word with you.

Lenin. Certainly.

Struve. It's now three in t he afternoon. You think you shouldn't be here but at the Smolny Institute. I want to show you that if you stay behind here, it'll be all to Russia's good. Indeed, it's only three in the afternoon now and there's still time to rethink...

Lenin. Is there any point wasting time, Pyotr Berngardovich? After all, I know you so well that, if you liked, I could quote you verbatim: "For the time being, our Russian is still a slave, and there are dozens of reasons for that..."

Struve. I'm not joking. Our Russian is indeed a slave for the time being, and there are dozens of reasons for that. Both of us want to see him free. You think that to do so it's necessary to change his environment, the social circumstances, in short, effect a revolution. We say that no matter how many times circumstances and conditions have changed in Russia, even indeed as a result of your October Revolution, the Russian doesn't change inasmuch as being a slave is in his blood. Why doesn't he change? Because the inner man depends neither on circumstances nor on social conditions, but on whether he incorporates the supreme spiritual essence, "the kingdom of God" within him. Until the human being sets his inner man free, no revolution will make him free. Starting with the Decembrists and ending with you, all Russian revolutionaries were the spiritual kin of Russian sedition, Russian hooliganism. Because by inciting the people with their deeds, they brought Russia nothing but woe, as they generated nothing but murderous rebellion and murderous retribution. Such is the crime the Russian intelligentsia has committed, and that is what they should atone for, forswear once and forever inciting the people against the authorities. The Russian intelligentsia's real mission is not revolt and revolution! Forgive me for citing the biblical maxim, as I'm sure it's not the kind of language you use, yet its great meaningful substance might open your eyes too: "We are here not to damn the darkness but to kindle the light."

Lenin. How is man to rise from his knees? For that, in the final analysis is the meaning and substance of our revolution. So how? How to convert the frightened observer into a fighter?That evokes fear. There are thousands of different kinds of fear. How are they to be overcome? It is my conviction that man is moulded by action, by what he does, not by a century of genuflecting before an icon. When he rises from his knees to state the truth, to make truth, to ally with truth, it's precisely then that he changes the social circumstances along with himself.

Struve. No, Ulyanov, these are all the reveries of a German Jew rehashed in Russian style.

Lenin. Aren't you ashamed, Pyotr Berngardovich?

Struve. No. I myself toyed with that and I know what I am talking about. That's not for Russian soil; Russian soil craves other seed, pure, genuinely Russian seed. After all, can't we ourselves conceive of something truly worthwhile? After all, don't we in the long run have a sense of national pride?

Lenin. We have such a sense. But of another order. The Russian people have shown themselves capable of giving mankind great examples of struggle, and not just great pogroms, gallows and dungeons, great hunger strikes and grovelling before the powers-that-be. We also feel utter contempt for those Russian intellectuals who let the Black Hundred loose against their own intelligentsia and their own people.

Struve. I did not anticipate anything else.

Lenin. So is it worthwhile?

Struve. I'm thinking too of those who listen to us. Let them stop to think.

Lenin. Let them, indeed.

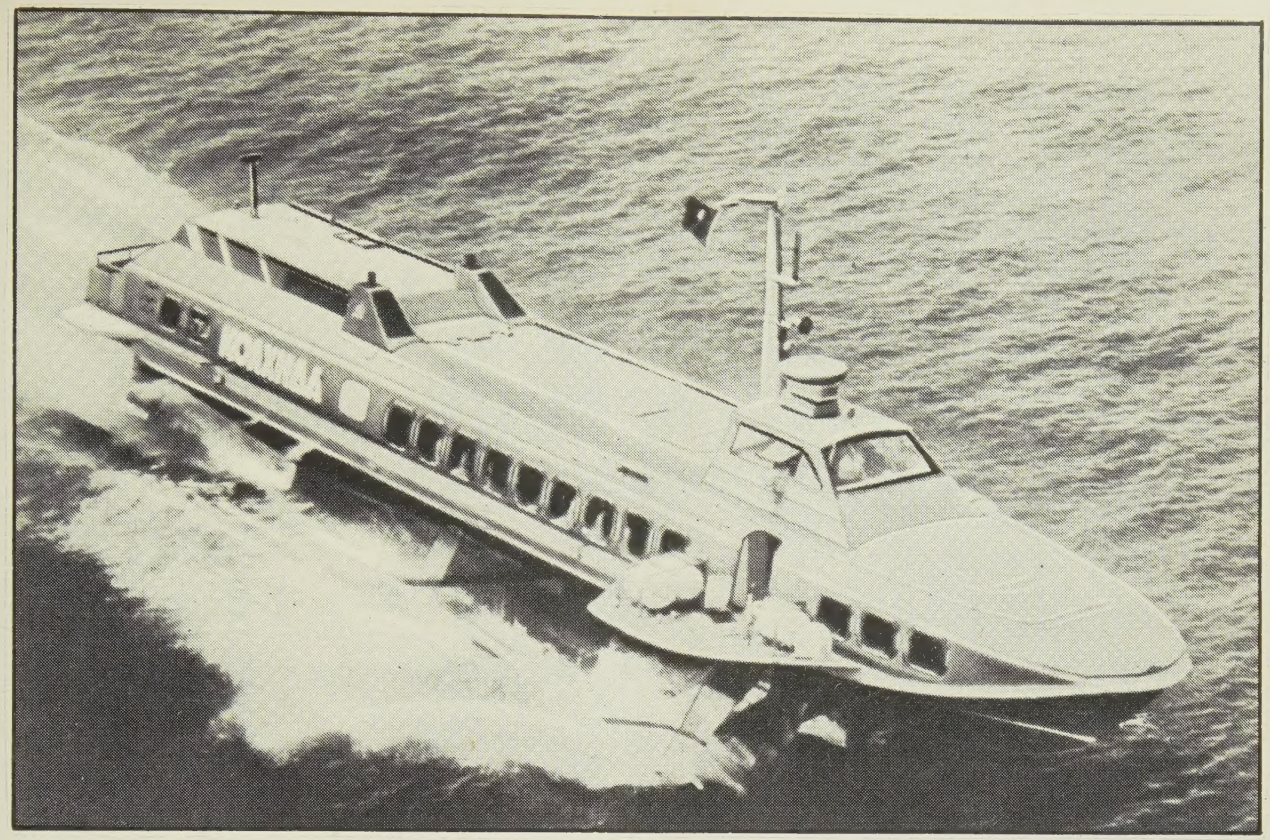
Struve. And let them answer the most important question, whether you, Ulyanov, youself believe in what you say. Do you believe in revolution while planning for it to repudiate itself? You promise the people democracy, although you know very well that you will turn the proletarian dictatorship into the monopoly of power by but one party, as all others will be disbanded, the press forbidden, terror let loose, and anyone thinking differently put up against the wall.

Spiridonova. One moment, please! I feel I must intervene! Though none here can suspect me of having any liking for the Bolsheviks, it would be immoral for me to stay silent. Mr Struve's memory is faulty. Lenin never conceived or spoke of the proletarian dictatorship as a one-party system. On the contrary, when offering us proportionate representation in December 1917, he said that Soviet power lets the working people, if dissatisfied with their party, re-elect delegates, transfer power to another party, and change the government without any revolution at all. Which you very well know. The Bolsheviks demanded of all parties only that they recognize the basic decrees of the October Revolution and abandon armed struggle against Soviet power. But what actually ensued? All the time the entire dose of freedom granted the parties was employed exclusively for what is juridically qualified as the desire to overthrow the existing system. What government, may I ask, would tolerate that? Would you? Would we? Never! One can only be amazed at the patience the Bolsheviks displayed. The October Revolution was a pure founthead, which the Civil War muddied. Hence, Mr Struve, don't act the innocent virgin. After all, you're a man of experience; you've sat down at one table with Lenin and you've been a minister under Wrangel. Now here you start telling us about the immaculate conception. We all share the responsibility for missing out on that tangible option for a constitutional change of parties in power which Lenin offered us. When the Kronstadt mutiny happened and all our parties backed it, the Bolshevik answer was univalent and all parties were banned. Yet, in 1922 Lenin again thought to legalize the Mensheviks.

* * *

On this note we shall bow out of the discussion...

Hopefully, this fragment has given readers a notion of the new play by Mikhail Shatrov, the well-known Soviet dramatist whose principal interest lies in the history of the October Revolution. The Editors intend to continue to invite contributions from professional historians discussing complex problems of the recent past. Readers' suggestions as to the subjects of such discussions will be appreciated.



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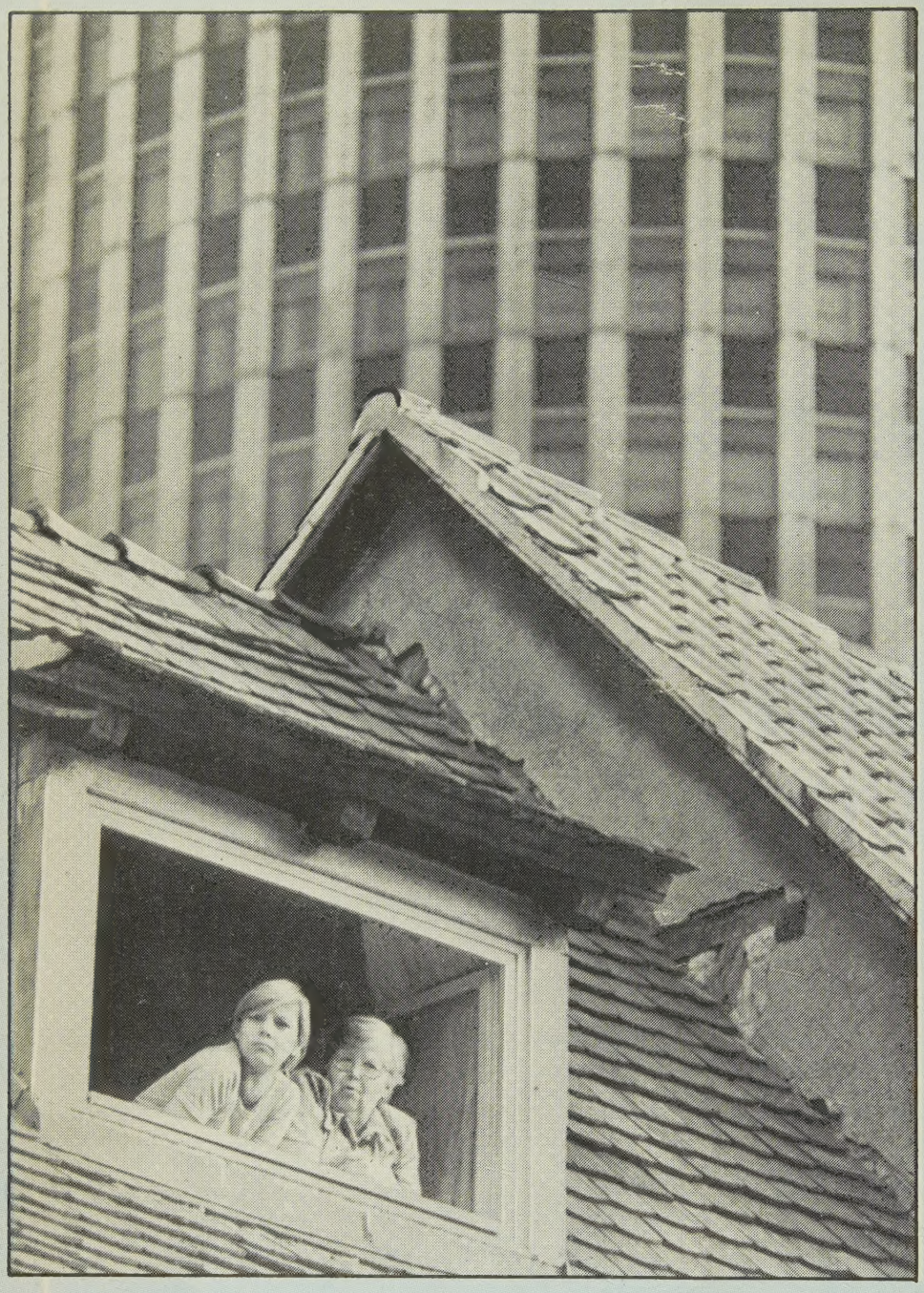
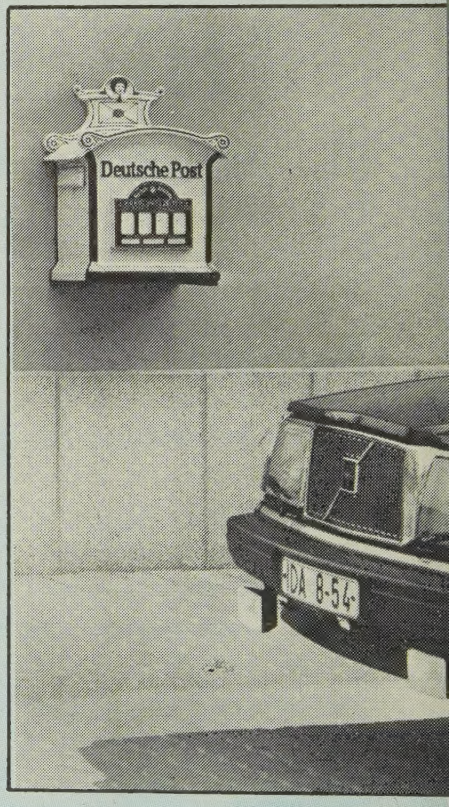


Dieter Urban (G.D.R.)

Contrasts.



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